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ABSTRACT

The paper explores various aspects of educational and social opportunities for women in Cincinnati in the mid-19th century. During the early stages of the industrial revolution in the 1830s, women were generally relegated to performing traditional home-based and child-related functions. Although middle and upper-class parents believed in education for their children many schools did not enroll girls until the late 1830s. During the 1840s and 1850s, reformers affirmed female education for various reasons including the need to teach girls their distinctive divisions of responsibility, build character, and enable women to obey the commands of the Bible. Other factors which encouraged educational opportunities for women in the mid-1800s included population increase, economic growth, interest in moral instruction, and a demand for teachers. By the 1860s, sexually segregated classrooms had disappeared, girls performed as well as boys on high school entrance examinations, increasing numbers of female teachers were employed in public schools, and more women pursued careers. By the 1880s, however, there were numerous and often successful efforts by males countervailing feminist demands for equal salary and opportunity. (DB)

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# FEMINISM, EDUCATION, AND SOCIAL CHANGE: A CASE STUDY OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM IN CINCINNATI, OHIO 1830-1880

by

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Too frequently, histories of education have a tendency to divorce school from society—to view educational change as something produced by the educational institutions themselves, with a smidgin of Jacksonian democracy thrown in for good measure. Moreover, scholars since the turn of the century have described women's increased access to education in the nineteenth century as a liberating experience for the "gentle sex" without explaining the dynamics of that liberation.[1] In fact, no clear exposition of the role played by feminism in that process currently exists. This is an unfortunate oversight, since the movement for women's rights became one of the most heatedly debated and long-lasting of the many reform interests emerging in the early nineteenth century. Particularly in urban areas, feminism affected most social institutions, including the most conservative of all: the public school. The link between feminism and education is a subject requiring extensive study. This essay will focus on Cincinnati, Ohio, the "Queen City of the West," in an effort to explain how social change, feminist thought, and expanding educational opportunities for women were tied closely together.

Long before any women's rights advocacy began in Cincinnati or anywhere else in America, the initial stages of industrialization in the Northeast, the Middle Atlantic states, and Ohio had brought about significant changes in the quality of life for men and women. As traditional determinants of deference weakened, an individualistic ethos became preeminent, the gap between the very rich and very poor widened, pluralistic association networks replaced the more unitary ones of earlier times, and capitalism displaced the household as the center of the productive process,[2] many urban Americans feared the instability of

events and the erosion of moral rectitude. Some sought relief through an evangelism which affirmed old Christian values. Others, responding to the fact that the family's influence was waning, reiterated the need to convert Christian families into "nurseries of the divine kingdom." By the 1830s evangelism and home-centeredness had merged and increasingly woman came to be viewed in spiritual terms. The image of Woman as Reedemer, the Minister and Guardian of the Home, became the basic source of stability in changing times. Many individuals separated the world of the market--with its self-seeking aura and heterogeneous population--from that source of refuge and solace--the home. A cult of domesticity emerged, bringing about a more highly valued role for women, but one which merely accentuated many of the limiting aspects of traditional femininity. "True womanhood" embraced a composite of characteristics long valued in early America, including selflessness, "humility, modesty, and domestic excellence." Woman's influence, moreover, was considered largely exemplary and spiritual in nature; woman's higher value possessed no practical reference points--such as the right to personal earnings, if married; the right to child custody, when divorced; the right to vote; or the right to have access to a wide range of occupations. Woman's sphere of activity remained the home.[3]

Although woman in her "sphere" performed traditional functions, it was no longer assumed, however, that she could rely merely on instinct or religious tutelage to provide youngsters with appropriate character-building directives. In the heterogeneous world of the city, a belief in the malleability of all children, male and female, replaced the earlier notion that youngsters were inherently depraved. Boys and girls

could be--in fact had to be--trained in a suitable environment to become upstanding citizens.[4] With the working father absent from home for much of the day, the public school became an important adjunct of the mother in helping insure that youngsters grew up untainted by sin and big city corruption. Envisualizing education as a seedbed of morality, members of the middle class supported the development of common schools in Cincinnati and other urban locales.[5]

In the 1820s a large number of small private schools trained boys for the duties of manhood--for life in the world of trade and politics in and outside of Cincinnati. Forty-seven such schools taught middle and upper class children in 1829, but few of them enrolled girls. Since it was assumed the sexes ought to receive separate training for their "distinctive divisions of responsibility," education was segregated.[6] The city directory of 1831 listed just four girls' academies. That number increased to ten by 1836, the result of the popularity which accrued to educator Catharine Beecher's Western Female Institute after its founding in 1833.[7] Although publicly-supported district schools opened in 1829, few parents sent their daughters to such institutions. Between that year and 1833 students there attended classes in sexually-segregated buildings and received instruction only from teachers of the same sex. The small number of students in attendance finally forced the Board of Trustees and Visitors to bring boys and girls together into the same schoolhouses, but maintained separate rooms, separate staircases, and separate playgrounds.[8]

Despite provisions made for teaching girls their "distinctive

divisions of responsibility" in both private and public schools, much opposition to female education existed. Almira H. Lincoln Phelps reported in 1838, "It is not unfrequently asserted, that 'education renders females less contented with the lot assigned them by God, and by the customs of society; that it tends to draw them from their appropriate domestic duties, and thus renders them less happy and less useful!'"[9] Other observers argued that too much education would blot out "connubial love and maternal affection." Instead of focusing on the potential hardening or "liberating" potential of female education, some persons asserted that women simply lacked the brain-power necessary to withstand the "rigorous discipline" required in most studies and especially the "severe" reasoning needed in mathematics courses.[10]

In the late 1830s and early 1840s a number of educators, many of whom had taken note of the important evangelical lectures given by females against the institution of slavery, vigorously affirmed female education. Ms. Phelps and Joseph McD. Matthews, the principal of a seminary in Hillsborough, Ohio, both argued a strong case before the Cincinnati College of Teachers. In their view, education would lead the woman away from deleterious influences, such as books of "a light, unsubstantial character," "the excitement of public amusements," and "the entertainment of scandal." Phelps admitted that "intellectual enjoyments do, in some degree, cause a disrelish for the common toils of life, such as fall to the lot of most females," but believed "correct principles" in the schools could countermand that. She asserted that education would build female character by teaching the woman to use reason rather than impulse so that she could not only become the "harbinger of a

brighter and better day" but also serve as a suitable "companion of enlightened men." "Without education," Phelps pointed out, "she is but his toy or his slave." With devastating logic, Matthews even more soundly denounced those who would limit woman's schooling. He called the argument that "God has placed woman in a subordinate relation in life, and she should not acquire too much knowledge lest she should become imperious" an idea from the dark ages, "for to suppose that a woman of cultivated mind would not be disposed to obey the commands of the Bible, would be to suppose that the commands are wrong and oppressive, and there is danger that she will make this discovery." Matthews further commented, "[ T ] here are hundreds of ladies all over the country, self-made, and more intelligent than many of these 'lords of creation,' who seem to despise them." Girls failed to succeed at difficult subjects, he asserted, only because they were told they could not succeed! Many other educators, like Phelps and Matthews, believed that "Males and females, having similar capacities, should be similarly educated." For them, the doctrine of female intellectual inferiority was "absurd" and "pernicious."[11]

Whatever the attitude of educators toward the issue of female schooling, many educational tracts of the late thirties and early forties centered upon the important role played by the mother and the female teacher in unlimbering young intellects, encouraging proper habits, and cultivating morality. As a Ms. McCabe enthusiastically asserted, "She who stood alone in Eden, amidst the ruins of her moral nature, has been honored with a controlling agency in bringing back a revolted world."[12] School officials paid homage to the ideology of domestic feminism--that

schoolmistresses could, like mothers, purify youngsters tainted by the seamier side of urban life. In 1841 one School Board President commented, "If a mother's smiles made a painter of [ Benjamin ] West, who knows what the same cheap bestowments, when timely applied, may affect upon the children and youth of the city."[13] As the result of such sentiment, the administrators of the newly created district school system hired nine female teachers--42.86% of all instructors--for the initial (1829-30) school term. However, these schoolmistresses were not allowed to teach boys their "distinctive responsibilities of life."[14] In 1838 the College of Professional Teachers formed a Committee on Female Education which immediately resolved "That every practicable effort should be made to increase the number of well qualified female Teachers" or else female education would remain "imperfect, fluctuating, and inefficient."[15] Female instructors could bring more girls into the public schools, but they could not "redeem" boys through their moral example until the early 1840s. In that decade the increasing acceptability of the idea that "whatever faculties of mind belong to man belong to woman also" meant that educators no longer wished as much to limit female teachers to female classes. Woman's "facility in winning the regard of the young, her tact in discerning the minute shades of temperament, [ and ] her skill in moulding the susceptible heart to her purpose" was considered too important to confine her example to classrooms of girls.[16]

The late 1840s and early 1850s became times of great social change--change which profoundly affected the educational system and woman's opportunities. Between 1840 and 1850 Cincinnati's population--surging with new Irish and German immigrants--more than doubled and the value of

its manufacturing produce tripled.[17] This seemingly boundless growth exacerbated fears that once easily regulated city affairs were becoming chaotic, totally unmanageable. Citizens wailed that opium dens, gambling, the sale of "dirty and obscene" books, whorehouses, juvenile gangs, and crime in general had proliferated, destroying "Morality, Law and Order."[18] In 1851 the editor of the Cincinnati Daily Gazette called Cincinnati the most lawless place in the United States.[19] Blaming the "vicious rabble" for electing corrupt ward police officials and protesting against "the sickly coddling of criminals" in court,[20] aroused middle-class citizens called for police reform,[21] flooded brothels with water,[22] verbally attacked "the monster intemperance,"[23] or, in a calmer mood, worked charitably among the poor.

From the late 1840s through the 1870s public school officials and many other inhabitants of the Queen City reiterated the need for curative doses of "moral education" to rejuvenate those in lower life." Only if the public schools hammered home moral instruction could "honest dealers, conscientious jurors, true witnesses, incorruptible voters, good parents, good neighbors, [ and ] good members of society" be produced. With it, educators felt, each Irish and German immigrant could be Americanized, brought to "comprehend the genius of the institutions under which he lives." Moral instruction could chip away at the poor and immigrant children's "vulgar breeding" until they enjoyed the sweet, "higher faculties of civilization"--those habits of piety, benevolence, sobriety, frugality, ambition, fortitude, moderation, and cleanliness which middle class residents considered "the ornament of human society."[24] In 1856 Superintendent of Schools Andrew J. Rickoff recommended dropping "one

study after another, if necessary even the alphabet itself," to find more time for teaching morality in the district schools.[25]

Commercial and industrial entrepreneurs, desiring to control the ceaseless growth which they had helped to set in motion, frequently catalogued the seemingly endless variety of moral dangers which hung ominously over young boys and girls in an "almost uninhabitable" metropolis.[26] The poor and immigrant groups became convenient scapegoats who could be blamed for the suddenly observable immorality of the city's "revolted world." Cincinnati had numbers of poor residents in the 1820s--people who led life styles similar to those of the poor in the 1850s--but the city officials then took less notice of them. As urban life became less stable and more heterogeneous, the Myth of Community readily evaporated, notwithstanding the booster spirit which achieved great popularity primarily because the "perceived" disintegration of the city had progressed so far. The resulting fear of chaos soon reached such epidemic proportions that by 1873 the School Board's Committee on Moral Instruction would self-righteously complain that too many poor children grew up in homes[27]

> where quarrelling was an every-day occurrence-swearing a part of home language--drunkenness a specialty--lewdness a pastime; homes from which the parents seldom or never went to respectable gatherings, but frequently to the saloons, the public dance, the theater, and varieties;...homes where smoking and gambling and howling alternated with the recital of prize-fights and races and can-can ballads; homes where Police Gazettes and sensational papers held forth Passion's worst food--masquerades, courtings, elopements, seductions, abandonments, and suicides!

The dangers to young women were of special concern, since moralists believed that girls, as members of the delicate and passive sex, could easily, naively, fall into a life of "utter ruin."[28] In these times when

a woman's piety and purity largely defined her character, the editor of the Cincinnati Daily Nonpareil reasoned, "A man without religion, is at best, a poor reprobate, the football of destiny, with no tie linking him to identity...but a woman without it is even worse, a flame without heat, a rainbow without color, a flower without perfume."[29] Many an observer affirmed that young maidens--naturally more receptive than boys--sank into a "lower depth of sin and misery than their neglected brothers" upon exposure to "coarse-grained natures."[30] The Cincinnati Daily Gazette cautioned even daughters of the elite to beware, since "idleness, frivolous company, and an endless round of calls" exposed them to vice.[31]

Increasingly, prominent Cincinnatians looked to the district schools as institutions which could bring girls of all social classes to internalize the pious, submissive functions of "true womanhood." The recognition that many poor mothers comprised part of the "revolted world" caused educators to emphasize the school as more important than the home in the female's socialization process. In the 1830s and early forties magazines like the monthly Ladies Repository and books like Margaret Coxe's Claims of the Country on American Females eulogized the mother's exemplary spiritual influence and only secondarily mentioned the "moralizing" effect of the schools, but tracts of the 1850s reversed that emphasis. By the 1870s only a few observers looked sentimentally at the alleged redemptive power of mothers in the home, whereas a great number celebrated the redemptive power of the school. In response to such propaganda, the numbers of children attending district schools increased from 2,103 in 1830 to 5,121 in 1840, 13,583 in 1850, and 22,479 in 1860. Fewer than 40% of all district school students were female in 1830, but

that number climbed to 49.40% by 1855. Just one-eighth of all Cincinnati females between the ages of four and twenty-one attended district classes in 1830; however, within two decades that figure would increase to 29% of all such females.[32]

As Cincinnati's changed appearance and quality of life at mid-century lent particular credence to moral reform and thereby served as a push for female education, so too did the new urban condition bring about a rethinking of contemporary sex-roles. The sevenfold industrial boom between 1841 and 1859 opened innumerable opportunities for women to enter the male work world and draw wages of their own. As early as 1842, Margaret Coxe reported that a growing number of women were rejecting the drudgery of farm life, refusing to marry agriculturalists, and searching out their fortunes in the city.[33] Available data from city directories and the U. S. census bear Coxe out. The percentage of women between ages sixteen and fifty-nine who "worked" shot upward from 8.86% in 1840 to 19% in 1860 and 26.3% in 1880. Women comprised 14.8% of the labor force in 1840, 21.4% in 1860, and 22.2% in 1880.[34] With the exception of the 1840 figures, these percentages are 50% or more higher than the national results.[35] Utilizing the training received in district schools, female store clerks, typesetters, bookbinders, tailors, and hatters worked at jobs which supplied a taste of financial security outside of marriage. Other women "earned" an income in a variety of unorthodox ways—from employment as stevadores, tambourine-playing for street handouts,[36] begging,[37] shoplifting,[38] or selling pins, babies' socks, lace, and ribbons to crowds gathered at the farmers' market.[39] The Ladies' Sewing Societies formed in many churches also became vehicles

for making some extra pocket money.[40] Although the wages paid female laborers rarely exceeded 58% of those paid men,[41] the availability of employment did lure women outside of the home, thereby loosening the rigid lines drawn between women's and men's respective "spheres." When she could work, even if for a pittance, the woman had less need to enter into a marriage relationship on any terms available. In all such changes, the public schools played an important role by giving instruction in reading, writing, and mathematics--subjects which would help to develop literate candidates for highly skilled jobs in commerce and industry. By 1847 language skill and "appropriate employment" had come to be recognized as objects of female education...along with virtue and proper deportment.[42] Education, despite its emphasis on producing "true women," at the same time might assist the young woman, as a Vassar student once phrased it to her mother, "To feel capable, not handicapped, for the future is surely a pleasing sensation."[43]

In particular, large numbers of young females looked forward to becoming teachers. The widespread belief in woman's redemptive power created a great demand not just in Cincinnati, but in urban centers throughout the nation, for schoolmistresses to tame the spirit of "Street Arabs." Educators increasingly considered the female teacher of "vital importance...to the best interests of the family, church and state."[44] By 1850 domestic feminism had been broadened to apply to institutions outside of the home. As a result, the number of women teachers employed by the Cincinnati district schools shot upward from nine in 1829-30 to 99 in 1849-50, 211 in 1860-1, and 350 in 1870-1. The percentage of teachers who were female increased from 42.86% in 1829-30 to between

72 and 80% throughout the 1850s, reached a high of 85.63% in 1866-7, and stayed at that level up to 1880 at least. In 1850-1 one fourth of the teachers at an advanced level (junior high school, high school, music, French, and drawing) were members of the "gentle sex," but within thirteen years the women had achieved a majority of the total. From 1865 through 1880 they comprised two-thirds of all such instructors.[45]

The tendency to view the school-bound guardians of the young as the analogues of unpaid mothers in the home created opportunities for many women, but it also meant that school trustees had little compunction about employing women at wages less than half the male norm, especially when times were financially tight. The Panic of 1837 restricted public credit throughout the nation and stirred up considerable interest in using lowly-paid women as teachers.[46] Not until 1840, however, did an Ohio legislative requirement for educational expansion in major cities,[47] coupled with a Cincinnati City Council order to cut expenses, force the Queen City's School Board to conclude that "It is best for female teachers to instruct all female scholars, and the small classes, both male and female; and all the money paid to male teachers for instructing such classes over and above what it would cost to employ females, is so much money lost."[48]

As a result of new salary shufflings, the percentage which female teachers earned vis-a-vis male teachers--an amount which had increased throughout the 1830s to a record 52.49% in 1839-40--decreased dramatically to a low 40.93% in 1849-50. Necessity suited custom, for not until the 1866-7 term did the average female earn as much as the average male had at the inauguration of the district school system thirty-seven years

before.[49] In the 1850s and 1860s the average woman's wages fluctuated from a high of 47.9% of the average man's in 1854-5 to a low of 38.34% in 1866-7, then stabilized at the 44 to 46% level throughout the 1870s. On the junior high school, high school, and specialist level, female teachers earned 80% of what their male counterparts did in 1854-5, 63.53% in 1860-1, 40.05% in 1866-7, and between 45 and 55% in the 1870s. Between 1840 and 1880 the ideology of woman's special sphere did indeed well suit the practical expectations of economic life.

Chart #1--Teachers in the District Schools by Sex

| School year | Total | N males | % males | N females | % females |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1830 | 21 | 12 | 57.14 | 9 | 42.86 |
| 1835-6 | 43 | 24 | 55.81 | 19 | 44.19 |
| 1839-40 | 63 | 21 | 33.33 | 42 | 66.67 |
| 1845-6 | 84 | 25 | 29.76 | 61 | 70.24 |
| 1849-50 | 133 | 38 | 27.74 | 99 | 72.26 |
| 1854-5 | 186 | 53 | 28.49 | 133 | 71.51 |
| 1860-1 | 265 | 54 | 20.37 | 211 | 79.63 |
| 1866-7 | 348 | 50 | 14.37 | 298 | 85.63 |
| 1870-1 | 419 | 69 | 16.47 | 350 | 83.53 |
| 1875-6 | 450 | 65 | 14.44 | 385 | 85.56 |
| 1880-1 | 498 | 73 | 14.66 | 425 | 85.34 |

Chart #2--Teachers in High Academic Positions by Sex

| School year | Total | N males | % males | N females | % females |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1850-1 | 4 | 3 | 75 | 1 | 25 |
| 1854-5 | 9 | 6 | 66.67 | 3 | 33.33 |
| 1860-1 | 42 | 26 | 61.9 | 16 | 38.1 |
| 1866-7 | 37 | 12 | 32.43 | 25 | 67.57 |
| 1870-1 | 95 | 35 | 36.84 | 60 | 63.16 |
| 1875-6 | 111 | 39 | 35.14 | 72 | 64.87 |
| 1880-1 | 80 | 25 | 31.25 | 55 | 68.75 |

Chart #3—Mean Average Wages in the Cincinnati District Schools by Sex

| School year | Mean male wage | Mean female wage | % female of male wage |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1830 | $ 433.33 | $ 152 | 35.08 |
| 1835-6 | 416.67 | 210.53 | 50.52 |
| 1839-40 | 454.90 | 237.43 | 52.49 |
| 1845-6 | 432.60 | 202.56 | 46.82 |
| 1849-50 | 612.64 | 250.75 | 40.93 |
| 1854-5 | 679.02 | 327.82 | 48.28 |
| 1860-1 | 775.29 | 348.63 | 44.97 |
| 1866-7 | 1402 | 557.21 | 39.74 |
| 1870-1 | 1393.84 | 606.29 | 43.49 |
| 1875-6 | 1386.92 | 664.03 | 47.88 |
| 1880-1 | 1404.11 | 649.88 | 46.28 |

Chart #4—Mean Average Wages at Higher Academic Levels in the Cincinnati Public School System by Sex

| School year | Mean male Wage | Mean Female Wage | % female of male wage |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1854-5 | $ 708.33 | $ 566.67 | 80 |
| 1860-1 | 983.84 | 625 | 63.53 |
| 1866-7 | 1865.33 | 747.12 | 40.05 |
| 1870-1 | 1509.29 | 837.50 | 55.49 |
| 1875-6 | 1723.08 | 784.72 | 45.54 |
| 1880-1 | 1596 | 781.82 | 48.99 |

Chart #5—Percentage of Total Wages Earned in the District Schools by Sex

| School year | Total wages | Male Wages | Female wages | % wages Earned by men | % wages Earned by women |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1830 | $ 7,468 | $ 5,200 | $ 2,268 | 69.63 | 30.37 |
| 1835-6 | 14,000 | 10,000 | 4,000 | 71.43 | 28.57 |
| 1839-40 | 19,524 | 9,552 | 9,972 | 48.92 | 51.08 |
| 1845-6 | 23,571 | 10,815 | 12,756 | 45.25 | 54.75 |
| 1849-50 | 48,095.76 | 23,271.84 | 24,823.92 | 48.39 | 51.61 |
| 1854-5 | 79,516 | 35,988 | 43,528 | 45.26 | 54.74 |
| 1860-1 | 115,424 | 41,864 | 73,560 | 36.27 | 63.73 |
| 1866-7 | 236,150 | 70,100 | 166,050 | 29.68 | 70.32 |
| 1870-1 | 308,375 | 96,175 | 212,200 | 31.19 | 68.81 |
| 1875-6 | 345,800 | 90,150 | 255,650 | 26.07 | 73.93 |
| 1880-1 | 378,700 | 102,500 | 276,200 | 27.07 | 72.92 |

The middle class desire to cut costs, Americanize immigrants, and create moral stability in an urban setting had important impact on school, society, and the expectations of members of "the gentle sex." Yet, many other change agents also had considerable influence, and one of the most significant of these was the activities of women, particularly women of feminist sentiment. As the emergence of a large number of women's magazines and a "literature of domesticity enlisted women in their domestic roles to absorb, palliate, and redeem the strain of social and economic transformation,"[50] many women across the nation turned to public activities. Evangelically-inclined women in the 1830s endorsed health reform, attacked the double standard of sexual morality and the victimization of prostitutes, joined benevolent associations, and became active in the antislavery movement. Imbued with a firm belief in their moral power, these females took an active yet unobtrusive part in religious, charitable, and educational work. They believed that such activities would intellectually and spiritually "elevate" women, and, to some degree, their reform work did place them on a moral pedestal in society. This elevation raised questions about the status of "the gentle sex." It also enhanced female self-confidence. Women soon demanded the right to lecture in public and vote in abolitionist meetings. Between 1837 and 1840 a fierce debate raged in New England around the issue of woman's full participation in the anti-slavery movement, a debate which divided abolitionism into two hostile camps.[51]

Cincinnati became a center for abolitionist activity, but there women were less likely to demand full participation rights. In the Queen City the image of Woman as Redeemer was popularized somewhat later

than in the northeast. Cincinnatians, having little contact with the Irish and other "poor" immigrants arriving on the eastern seaboard in the late 1830s, were not as frightened about the potentially corrosive effects of a poor lifestyle on middle-class standards as New Englanders and New Yorkers were. Therefore, the Woman as Redeemer viewpoint had less functional utility in the Queen City. Cincinnati by 1840 did have a large German population, but these Germans--whatever efforts they made to preserve their native culture--usually affirmed the same values middle-class, native-born whites did. Germans considered education and hard work important and generally established themselves as trades and business men, rather than common laborers. Those new German immigrants who sometimes huddled in shacks in seaboard metropolises did not exist in Cincinnati. In the opinion of most educators, the Queen City's German residents had no special need for female school teachers to "save" their offspring and thereby "save" society.[52]

Cincinnati had no native female abolitionists who spoke out actively to mixed audiences. While the accentuation of the Women as Redeemer image in the east spurred on female evangelism, which in turn gave rise to more radical feminist thought, the male abolitionists at Cincinnati's Lane Seminary in 1834 could not even find enough local women willing to teach Black girls in a projected school. The school could not be maintained until New York ladies answered a plea for assistance and journeyed to Cincinnati to serve as teachers, missionaries, and social workers.[53] About 1837 a Cincinnati-based reviewer of Harriet Martineau's Society in America could--on the basis of her residence in the Queen City--reflect that, save for "free enquirer" Fanny Wright or Ms. Martineau, "there is

not a sane woman in the world, much less in the United States, who has a desire to enlarge her sphere of action beyond the limits of her domestic home."[54]

The controversy of 1837-40 had little impact in Cincinnati. Female antislavery lecturers would occasionally visit the Queen City and were soundly denounced by the press. The abolitionist Philanthropist alone supported the "right" of such women to speak "publicly to promiscuous assemblages" as a religious responsibility, but added, "The custom, we are sure, will never become a general one."[55] In Cincinnati, as in Ohio generally, women sometimes voted in abolitionist meetings and became increasingly involved in political campaigns. When they did try to bring about change, their manner was always unobtrusive. Before the mid-1840s the woman who supported more rights for her sex would not declare herself openly, but hid behind the pseudonym "a Lady" when she attacked the then popular opinion that woman possessed "physical, and therefore mental helplessness."[56]

The industrial expansion and more cosmopolitan thrust of life in the 1840s and 1850s radically altered the attitudes existing in the 1830s. As more women labored in occupations outside of the home, they became increasingly assertive. Despite large doses of indoctrination for "true womanhood" in the public schools, female students did learn that they could master difficult subjects such as philosophy and arithmetic. They could also come to realize that their own effort could have concrete results in the world outside the home. Those women who participated unobtrusively in the abolitionist movement gathered organizational experience, developed political knowledge, and soon were drawing

parallels between woman's role and the slave's status. In the turbulent world of mid-century, larger numbers of women were realizing that an abstract reverence for woman's spiritual power did not necessarily lead to woman's concrete power.

Feminist sentiment grew rapidly. Both sexes gave frequent public addresses on "the Man and Woman Question."[57] Local dailies carried letters from discontented wives and reported developments at the many suffrage conventions held across the nation after 1848. Elizabeth A. Aldrich in 1851 founded Cincinnati's first feminist newspaper, The Genius of Liberty, which she used as a vehicle to oppose corsets and early marriage, to support temperance and female employment, and "to awaken self-hood, self-reliance, and independence in the female." Aldrich considered woman's legal position bad "enough to justify an insurrection in order to get...it redressed."[58] M. Farley Emerson, a woman trained in law (but denied the right to practice in court), published in 1857 a devastating criticism of woman's treatment by a hostile press. Her Woman in America argued the ridiculousness of the current belief that woman with her feminine beauty, tears, and "bewitching notions" possessed real, although indirect, power. After all, she reasoned, men held all the controlling positions in society. She urged women to "take care of" themselves and reproved "those who are so weak that they yield, and acknowledge the right of governors" for contributing to their own "oppression."[59] C. C. Winchester and C. D. Millar, co-editors of the Nonpareil, agreed that the "rights these women contend for, in the main are just and proper. Woman should be just as independent of man in regard to her occupation, maintenance, and property, as

one man is independent of another."[60]

The open, often sympathetic discussion of woman's rights in the media both reflected and furthered the interest taken by Cincinnatians in that subject. Holding the sixth national woman's rights convention (1855) in the Queen City also stimulated analysis of woman's position in society.[61] A flourishing woman's movement in Cincinnati and other Ohio locales secured 10,000 signatures to a suffrage petition. Upon receipt of that petition, a Select Committee of the Ohio Senate responded favorably, but the legislature killed the measure.[62]

The woman's rights movement was multi-faceted in its approaches and effects. Some viewed suffrage as the crucial step in bettering the female condition. "Bloomer girls" emphasized freeing women from stays and unwieldy hoop skirts--that "unphysiological, unnatural, and suicidal mode of dress"--so that the female would "be able to compete with her brother in the world of work" and thereby "rise to full equality with the sterner sex."[63] A few, more adventurous, cropped their hair and donned the coats and pantiloons of "the lords of creation."[64] Other women, some of whom banded together in the Cincinnati Free Love Society, opposed the prevailing Victorian standard of sexual morality, affirmed the value of "passional attraction," and frequently danced the "lascivious" polka. The free lovers accepted as a guiding principle the belief that "the woman is more an adulteress who sleeps nightly with her legal husband whom she does not love, than she who sleeps promiscuously with many men; for in the latter case she will occasionally embrace a man she loves."[65]

Well aware of the marital disillusionment many women experienced,

feminist non-free lovers also wished marital reform. Elizabeth Aldrich asserted that the patriarchal family "is death to all healthful happiness."[66] Sarah Ernst protested "merging a woman's individuality so completely into her husband's at marriage...[ that ] she is virtually blotted out of existence."[67] The Nonpareil urged female subscribers: "Never marry till you can face the music of the butcher, grocer, dress maker, twenty-three cousins, and several babies." New Englander Fanny Fern, whose columns appeared regularly in that newspaper, considered marriage a one-sided partnership "which wore wives to fiddlestrings before they are twenty-five!"[68] Some feminist critics argued that an egalitarian marriage could be guaranteed only if wives earned as much for taking care of "a man's house and children...as a man does, when he takes care of the farm and stock."[69]

The advertisements in newspapers suggest that many couples were attempting to control the wife's fertility. About 1856 one Cincinnati physician published a 72-page Science of Reproduction and Reproductive Control because, he argued, "society wants it and needs it, and therefore ought to have it."[70] Earlier sexual reformers faced sharp public censure and even imprisonment for printing contraceptive guides, but, in the changed times of the fifties, the Science of Reproduction became very popular.[71]

Whether woman's rights advocates supported reform in government, law, economics, dress, sexual practice, or the family, all agreed on the importance of equal education to advance woman's social position. Sarah Ernst considered three rights essential--"the right of suffrage, the right to equal education, and the right to hold property."[72] Rev. C. B.

Boynton of Cincinnati, like Lucy Stone in the east, denounced sexual separation in the schools. "I cannot think it necessary to erect a sort of literary monastery and nunnery for girls and boys," he wrote, "I think it quite evident that girls educated with the other sex gain a strength, a balance, a firmness of character which they cannot elsewhere acquire, and, unless I am greatly mistaken, young men from a suitably familiar companionship with young women, in the course of education, acquire from them a high-minded respect, a propriety of demeanor, and a purity of feeling which is apt to be wanting when they associate only with each other."[73]

Feminists believed that public separation of the sexes prevented woman from fulfilling her full redemptive role, her "natural" destiny as a source of social purity and stability in an urban world gone morally haywire. Ms. E. Oakes Smith would assert, "I see the present Social System is tottering to decay" and recommended "social and civil equality" as the solution.[74] The poetess "Ignis" (i. e., "Fire") expanded that theme, blaming sexist social laws for female poverty and crime.[75] Elizabeth Aldrich, with equal fervor, argued, "Give females everywhere an equal chance with men, in obtaining employment and remuneration, and it will redeem thousands of the sex from vice and misery. Men of might and means, ponder on these things!"[76]

Men did ponder on these things. Traditional educators agreed with the feminist push for coeducation as a means to save society from the corrosive effects of rampant immorality. However, the feminist position that coeducation could also promote self-reliance, insure skill-development for competition with males on the job market, and give to

man's alleged inferior intellectual parity at home clashed with the traditionalist goals. An occasional educator like John Foote would lash out:[77]

> The more womanly a woman is, the more she is beloved and respected; and the itch to test the peculiarities of the male sex in dress and manners, is one of these indications of bad taste which is peculiarly unwomanly and disagreeable....[ Those ] who take a proper interest in female education [ think ] strong-minded women...might be profitably exchanged for strong-bodied ones, who could give us the benefit of a due attention to the comfort of their families and education of their children.

Traditionalist educators generally viewed mixed schools as a way to institutionalize the cult of true womanhood. Many of these argued that the schools must develop habits of modesty, deference, virtue, and lady-like deportment in female children to alleviate the contemporary marital stress and undermine the bad parental example allegedly common among the poor.[78] School officials agreed with Catharine Beecher on the need for schools to facilitate the "softening, healing, harmonizing power" of woman and thereby produce the "conservators of the domestic state, the nurses of the sick, the guardians and developers of the human body in infancy, and the educators of the human mind."[79] Traditionalists wished to create a school system which counterbalanced the potentially subversive impact of the woman's rights advocates.

Yet, in quite another sense, the educators could not help but come to grips with the changes feminists desired. During the 1840s teachers sometimes threatened misbehaving girls with being sent into the alien boys' section of the district schools to be laughed at for punishment, but by the 1850s such practical testaments to the "distinctive divisions of responsibility" between the sexes no longer had much currency. In

that decade instructors encouraged girls to recite their lessons with the boys. By the 1860s sexually-segregated classrooms had disappeared entirely. Only separate playgrounds existed--one last reminder that active little boys and passive little girls had different destinies.[80] Furthermore, in 1854 the School Board chose to admit young women who worked daytime jobs as store clerks, seamstresses, and housemaids to the previously all-male night schools, even though there was some concern that girls coming to and going from classes might be sexually accosted.[81]

As educators began placing boys and girls in the same classrooms and curriculum programs during the early fifties, female students--apparently benefiting from the increased self-confidence generated by the woman's movement--proved they were indeed capable. Although as a group they fared poorly on high school entrance examinations taken between 1848 and 1852, after 1853 they did as well as the boys.[82] From 1857 through 1864 girls earned two of the twelve silver and gold medals offered at Hughes High School for excellence in mathematics--that subject supposedly beyond the ability of the "weaker sex."[83] Nearly as many young women as men entered high school and more graduated![84] Almost 40% of all female graduates became teachers.[85] Faced with such clearcut proof of female intellectual competence, administrators junked the old notion that rewarding girls with medals destroyed their feminine modesty.[86]

In the 1850s, educators uniformly supported the female sex's capacity for intellectual parity with men. The debate of earlier days all but vanished. In 1859 Woodward High School principal D. Shepardson reported the results of a survey to conclude, "this school shows no perceptible difference in the intellectual capacities of the sexes even

in the severer studies." Hughes High School teacher Joseph L. Thornton two years earlier had even called it "a slander to assert that the mind of the female could not perform the same labor as that of the opposite sex, conquer the same difficulties and advance side by side with it in the most difficult branches of study."[87]

In response to student accomplishments, feminist demands, and arguments posed by the believers in true womanhood, public school officials began blending the traditionalist with the feminist appeal. No one expressed the new educational viewpoint more succinctly than Superintendent of Schools Andrew J. Rickoff in 1854:[88]

> Experience in the management of public and private institutions has proven conclusively, that parents who would have their daughters possess the maidenly modesty that so highly adorns female character and throws about it its richest charm and, at the same time, would have them possess the self-reliance so necessary to enable them to enact with dignity the parts reserved for them in the drama of life, can best secure these results in mixed schools.

While mixed schools and self-reliance pleased feminists, traditionalists liked the modesty and "parts reserved for them" aspects of Rickoff's definition. Administrators continued to employ female principals in coeducational buildings, even though that office had originally been established to supervise female departments only. In the 1850s, the female principal performed important tasks, but she too worked under gender limitations. The male principal at each school decided on appropriate disciplinary action for disobedient and tardy students, solved any knotty problems, and supervised the activities of his female counterpart.[89]

Although feminists moved away from a view of woman as a purely maternal, submissive force into a recognition of her important economic,

political, philosophic, and confronting functions, they did agree with traditionalists on the indispensability of the female teacher to "the formation of a correct and delicate taste" in students and "in the higher power of giving tone to the moral sentiments." Both groups believed spiritual schoolmistresses could purify youngsters tainted by the seamier side of urban life.[90] As traditionalists and feminists agreed about woman's potentially redemptive influence on the taste, manners, and morals of society, they did, however, have quite different emphases. While traditionalist educators had long celebrated woman's "silent, quiet, holy influence" on maturing youngsters,[91] woman's rights advocates considered the female teacher an active symbol of social progress for women—a doer, an encourager, rather than a passive, ornamental figure who made impact only by her classroom example.

Throughout the 1850s the School Board endorsed the introduction of even more female teachers into positions with the public schools and selected women of the highest moral character.[92] No outright evidence exists to indicate that an exclusively male school board of upper middle-class extraction selected and advanced only the most obedient, non-feminist female applicants as teachers—those who would not indoctrinate young minds with egalitarian principles or object strongly to the male-female salary incongruity in that profession. Nevertheless, the employment procedure after 1850 was set up in a way which could easily facilitate that outcome. Since prospective instructors underwent a thorough examination of their knowledge and character before receiving their teaching certificates, as well as periodic re-examinations, women of "unsound character," including feminists, could be weeded out.[93] Any

promotion was contingent upon the approval of an immediate male superior. The woman who intended to take the examination qualifying her for a five-year teaching certificate, the longest and most remunerative appointment, must first receive an adequate percentile ranking from her male principal on "punctuality, order, neatness, power to gain the love and esteem of the scholars, professional spirit, originality, versatility," and so forth. That ranking, plus a report of the school visitors, aided the Superintendent of Schools in deciding what grade to give a teacher for Theory and Practice of Teaching. Principals could use their power of recommendation to keep insubordinate teachers from advancing, well knowing that the trustees also disliked "offish" schoolmistresses.[94] Furthermore, any individual salary increases depended "wholly on the pleasure of the Local Trustee."[95]

A prospective female teacher had to overcome many difficulties. She had to graduate from a normal school before the Board of Examiners would extend her "preferred" treatment, while any male applicant, as long as he could pass his exams, was eligible. As the Cincinnati Commercial later phrased it, any "bright young man who was useful in the log-rolling business may leap at a bound into the august Principal's seat, though h, has little or no experience in teaching."[96] But even a normal school education guaranteed little, since the trustees reputedly gave positions first "to the female relatives and friends of political favorites".[97] Furthermore, the trustees assumed that women did not improve as fast in the "art of teaching" as men. In 1864 the male principal could draw the $1,500 maximum salary after four years of employment, but female teachers must wait ten years before they could take home the $480 female

maximum.[98]

Even though the female instructors received much less than their male counterparts, the women's teaching loads far exceeded the men's. In 1849-50, for example, Margaret McCormick taught 135 students each day, on Clinton Street, for just $192 annually, and ten years later Anna M. Pollard taught 167 students for $300. In 1849-50 four females instructed 100 or more pupils daily. Only 28 of the 99 women taught less than sixty young scholars. Yet only three of the 38 male teachers instructed as many as sixty students.[99] In 1859-60 the pattern was essentially the same; ten women taught more than 100 students, 128 of 216 women instructed fifty or more children, while only eleven of the 68 males had that many pupils.[100] Ten years later, one commentator explained how arduous a woman teacher's lot could be. He described the situation in the district schools--one equally applicable to any year between 1850 and 1880--as one in which "children from five to twelve years of age are crowded in by the hundreds, many of whom have never been under any kind of control, taken in from the streets and do not know how to read or spell, or even know their letters." Therefore, he continued, teachers "are sorely put to it to bring order out of chaos, to control sixty to eighty of such children, tame and train them down to the rigid and necessary rules of the school and at the same time teach them to spell, read, write, make figures and the primary rules of arithmetic." "Street Arabs" could test feminine perserverance to the utmost.[101]

That overworked and underpaid female teachers did not question or protest their comparative lot, especially during times when feminism was a popular issue, bears testimony to the efficacy of the School Board's

screening procedure. Although many a female graduate of the district schools later put her training to use in the literary service of feminism, her schoolmistresses were paragons of true womanhood. Little else could be expected, for the institutions which trained teachers fostered that goal. Some attended classes at the traditionalist Wesleyan Female College, which flourished on Vine Street from its founding in 1842 through the 1870s. Between 1856 and 1866 an average of 177 women enrolled in the Ohio Female College each year. That institution, established by several prominent businessmen and professionals at College Hill, just a few miles from Cincinnati's northern boundary, also attempted to insure that its female charges exhibited the proper delicacy.[102]

It is doubtful whether the teachers in the district schools viewed themselves as career professionals. The female turnover rate was 36.05% between 1850-1 and 1851-2, more than double the male rate of 16.22%.[103] Some of these young women married, while others found employment in private homes, private schools, church schools, and elitist female institutes at salaries equal to or higher than those they received in the district schools.[104] Still, within a decade some change in attitude had occurred. By 1860-2 the teacher turnover rate had dropped to 11.4%--a level at which it would remain for the next two decades--but the male-female disparity remained.[105]

During the Civil War years increased numbers of girls entered the district schools and more female teachers instructed them. At that time, the tension between traditionalist and feminist all but vanished, as women labored to support the war effort. Although many women became nurses in that conflict and others donned male dress to serve as soldiers,

women's rights activists maintained a patriotic silence. However, from 1864 on union victory was readily apparent and women resumed the agitation of earlier years with accelerated fervor. In the disruptive 1860s, women came to believe in the vitality of new possibilities, in the postwar reality of social change. The War to Free the Slaves could now, on the homefront, become the War to Free Women. Self-confident action—the end result of a wartime sensibility—soon replaced the analytical verbalization of an earlier decade.

Women across the nation stepped up agitation for suffrage, actually attempted to vote in New Jersey and the South,[106] sought employment with the federal government at wages comparable to those drawn by men,[107] wrote scientific treatises,[108] took out 2,906% more patents between 1860 and 1885 than in the previous seventy years combined,[109] and began to pursue education ardently not as an aide in marriage but directly as "a working asset."[110] The thousand Ohio women, including many Cincinnatians, petitioned the State Constitutional Convention of 1873-74 for "impartial suffrage." At that convention, Cincinnati's Margaret V. Longley addressed a special committee on woman suffrage in the ringing terms of the new woman: "your law books tell you the political position of your women is a disgrace to a civilized nation;...the theory of your laws degrade them almost to the level of slaves." (The delegates voted to reject the extension of the franchise to women by only two votes.)[111] Cincinnati feminists actively enlisted the support of churches, lawyers,[112] and doctors.[113] Some labored hard for both woman's and freedman's rights as members of the Cincinnati Equal Rights Association, formed in 1868.[114] Middle and upper class women explicitly attacked the notion that "woman

was given by the God of the universe to man, all lovely and charming, to soothe his sorrows, to encourage and comfort his heart, and, as the crowning excellence of the home circle, to soften man's rugged nature."[115] Ladies and working women complained their domestic life was "a series of catastrophes, a continual progression of emergencies, and that their time was frittered away in continual conflict with trivial, menial things that leave a constant sense of defeat."[116] Many women and their male supporters explained that "the gentle sex" could use learning and dress reform to "emancipate herself from all her inferiority of condition, to rise above what is called woman's sphere, seize on all employments, and from thence demand all qualifications and rights, and so on to entire equality."[117] With good cause, in "these days of woman's rights,"[118] Superintendent of Schools Rufus King would assert unequivocatingly in 1870, "I need not enter into any panegyric upon women. They now speak for themselves."[119]

Women no longer rushed into marriage. The number of marriageable women increased in Hamilton County by 77% but the number of marriages dropped by 15.5% between 1865 and 1880.[120] In 1879 a group of Cincinnatians formed a chapter of the National Association for the Promotion of Marriage, expressing alarm over "the rapidly growing tendency of the people in this country (particularly those living in the larger cities) to remain unmarried, a condition unnatural and prejudicial to the welfare, success and happiness of the country."[121] Not only did many women not marry, but those who did had fewer children. Births decreased by 30.6%, indicating that many couples were attempting to control the wife's fertility.[122] The increased availability of

contraceptive devices for women (soft rubber cervical caps, cold-water douches, and vaginal sponges), as well as of male-controlled methods like withdrawal, coitus reservatus, and the vulcanized condom, had made an impact.[123] When birth control failed, enough women objected to bearing an unwanted child to insure that abortion specialists would locate in the city.[124] In 1874 Dr. Reamy of the Academy of Medicine charged that many Cincinnati physicians had performed abortions on or prescribed abortifacients for even wives of prominent citizens.[125]

While less women chose to marry and bear children, more took the steps necessary to secure a divorce. Between 1866 and 1879 Hamilton County women brought 2,172 divorce suits to court--over 70% of the total. The number of divorces increased from 88.8 per year in 1866-69 to 119.8 in 1874-79, a jump of 34.9%.[126] In 1867 one high society girl indicated how the changed climate had affected her own attitudes. Clara Chipman Newton wrote to a friend, "My dear, I don't want to be an old maid a bit, but I don't beleive [ sic ] I ever will be in love, and old maidhood is preferable to being married without love....anyhow it is easy to get a divorce but rather too common."[127]

During these years of great social change, more women sought an education at the higher levels. The percentage of women enrolling in high school classes increased from 45.61% of all students in 1852-9 to 48.62% in 1860-69 and 50.82% in 1870-76.[128] In 1860 12.4% of all night school students were female and that figure reached 20% by 1871.[129] At least six women attended classes at the Nelson Business College in the latter year.[130] When the University of Cincinnati opened in 1873, forty women--fully 68.9% of all students--reported for classes in mathematics,

chemistry, natural philosophy, Latin, Greek, French, and German.[131]

Young women were quite aware that education could lead to opportunity. Educated women sought employment as journalists, musicians, physicians, government employees, and insurance agents. In 1880 more than 800 Cincinnati women used their educational skills as clerks, salespersons, or accountants. Those occupations--exclusively male before the 1840s[132] --then employed more women than any other occupations with the exception of domestic servitude, dressmaking, and laundry work.[133] In that year 26.3% of all women between the ages of sixteen and fifty-nine claimed an occupation, a sharp upsurge from the 8.86% figure of 1840.

Many offerings opened up for women, but always at a lower rate of pay than men received. Between 1860 and 1870, as Chart #6 demonstrates, middle-class women earned only from 35% (bookkeepers and clerks--1870) to 56.7% (hatters--1860) of what similarly employed males did. Only at the low status occupation of janitor was the salary differential slight (76.12%--1866). Female teachers fared relatively well when compared to other women, but poorly when compared to other men. In 1860 the schoolmistresses rated no higher than 24th on one scale of thirty occupations--higher only than painters, school janitors, hod carriers, and steamboat cabin boys among the male positions listed. In 1866 the female teachers placed 29th on another scale of 35 occupations, above only cabin boys and apprentices among the male workers, but by 1870 women teachers' salaries exceeded the earnings of male civil engineers, laborers, ostlers, servants, and factory shoemakers to rank 33rd in a field of 44. During those three years the male teachers ranked tenth, ninth, and eighth, respectively. Notwithstanding the comparatively high status accorded

teachers, women did not much profit from their labors with children. At least one woman, in fact, quit her position at the Second District School to work at the more lucrative profession of prostitution.[134]

Chart #6—Annual Earnings by Occupation 1860, 1866, and 1870[135]

| Occupation | Wages 1860 | Rank | Wages 1866 | Rank | Wages 1870 | Rank |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Agricultural implement makers | ——— | ——— | $1,326 | 11th | ——— | ——— |
| Auditors | $1,200 | 5th | 2,300 | 5th | ——— | ——— |
| Bakers | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | $ 712 | 28th |
| Billiard Table manufacturers | 572 | 13th | 1,092 | 13th | ——— | ——— |
| Blacksmiths | 507 | 19th | 1,014 | 15th | 897 | 22nd |
| Boilermakers | 507 | 19th | 1,014 | 15th | ——— | ——— |
| Bookbinders—female | 195 | 29th | 390 | 32nd | 858 | 24th |
| male | 546 | 15th | 900 | 25th | ——— | ——— |
| Bookkeepers & clerks—female | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | 364 | 40th |
| male | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | 1,040 | 15th |
| Mayor | 2,000 | 3rd | 4,000 | 1st | 4,000 | 2nd |
| Millers | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | 910 | 21st |
| Mortar makers | ——— | ——— | 1,014 | 15th | ——— | ——— |
| Ostlers | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | 419 | 38th |
| Painters | 247 | 27th | 1,092 | 13th | 936 | 19th |
| Plasterers | 429 | 23rd | 936 | 22nd | 1,092 | 13th |
| Plumbers | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | 988 | 17th |
| Printers | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | 1,750 | 6th |
| Railroad engineers | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | 2,000 | 5th |
| Saddlers | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | 676 | 29th |
| Servants, house | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | 240 | 43rd |
| Solicitor, city | 3,000 | 1st | 3,500 | 3rd | ——— | ——— |
| Steamboat cabin boys | 240 | 28th | 360 | 33rd | 270 | 42nd |
| Steamboat captains | 1,200 | 5th | 3,600 | 2nd | 2,050 | 4th |
| Steamboat clerks | 800 | 11th | 940 | 21st | 1,650 | 7th |
| Steamboat deckhands | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | 330 | 41st |
| Stone cutters | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | 1,225 | 10th |
| Stone masons | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | 1,405 | 9th |
| Street pavers | 468 | 21st | 936 | 22nd | 741 | 26th |
| Tailors-female | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | 390 | 39th |
| -male | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | 962 | 18th |
| Teachers-female | 368 | 24th | 572 | 29th | 640 | 33rd |
| -male | 844 | 10th | 1,492 | 9th | 1,438 | 8th |
| Tinners | ——— | ——— | ——— | ——— | 676 | 29th |
| Treasurer, city | 2,500 | 2nd | 3,000 | 4th | ——— | ——— |

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bookmakers | 520 | 18th | 884 | 26th | ----- | ----- |
| Boot & Shoemakers | ------ | ------ | ------ | ------ | 444 | 37th |
| Butchers | ------ | ------ | ------ | ------ | 936 | 19th |
| Candlemakers | ------ | ------ | ------ | ------ | 676 | 29th |
| Carpenters | 600 | 12th | 1,326 | 11th | 1,170 | 12th |
| Carriage makers | ------ | ------ | ------ | ------ | 832 | 28th |
| Cellar excavators | ------ | ------ | 1,014 | 15th | ----- | ----- |
| Cigar makers | ------ | ------ | 1,352 | 10th | ----- | ----- |
| City clerk | 1,200 | 5th | 1,800 | 8th | 2,300 | 3rd |
| Civil engineers | ------ | ------ | ------ | ------ | 575 | 34th |
| Coopers | ------ | ------ | ------ | ------ | 1,092 | 13th |
| Flatboatmen | ------ | ------ | ------ | ------ | 663 | 32nd |
| Gunsmiths | 546 | 15th | 988 | 20th | 728 | 27th |
| Hatters-female | 572 | 13th | 702 | 28th | 520 | 35th |
| -male | 1,040 | 8th | 1,950 | 7th | 884 | 23rd |
| Hod carriers | 319 | 25th | 1,014 | 15th | 111 | 44th |
| Janitors-female | 168 | 30th | 357 | 34th | ----- | ----- |
| -male | 298 | 26th | 469 | 31st | ----- | ----- |
| Judge-Police Ct. | 500 | 4th | 2,000 | 6th | ----- | ----- |
| -Superior Ct. | ------ | ------ | ------ | ------ | 5,000 | 1st |
| Laborers | ------ | ------ | ------ | ------ | 468 | 36th |
| Locksmiths | 468 | 21st | 858 | 27th | 1,209 | 11th |
| -Apprentices | ------ | ------ | 546 | 30th | ----- | ----- |
| Machinists | 546 | 15th | 936 | 22nd | 1,040 | 15th |
| -Apprentices | ------ | ------ | 312 | 35th | ----- | ----- |

Chart # 7--Percentage Female of Male Income by Occupation in Cincinnati

| 1860 | | 1866 | | 1870 | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Hatters | 56.73 | Janitors | 76.12 | Hatters | 57.72 |
| Janitors | 56.28 | Bookbinders | 43.33 | Teachers | 44.51 |
| Teachers | 45.65 | Teachers | 38.34 | Tailors | 40.54 |
| Bookbinders | 43.66 | Hatters | 36.47 | Bookkeepers & Clerks | 35.00 |

Strong-minded women protested the salary inequity in many areas. Despite the efforts of the School Board to keep friction at a minimum in the public school system by appointing true women to teaching positions, schoolmistresses, there, spurred on by the post-war intensification of women's rights activity, began moving out of their traditionally submissive mode. It began in 1864 with the female high school teachers demanding more money and threatening to strike if the trustees took no positive action. The Union Board of High Schools responded favorably,

requesting a 20% addition to the salaries of all women, but the Committee on Salaries vetoed the increase. After the School Board voted to raise the salaries of male high school teachers later in the same year, the Union Board again recommended a female wage increase. That recommendation met a similar fate. In justification of its action, the Committee on Salaries argued simply that female high school teachers earned much more than female district school teachers. Undaunted, the female instructors in the next year compiled tables showing that New York City, Boston, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and Chicago all paid higher female salaries than Cincinnati. This exposure embarrassed the School Board's booster spirit. By 1866 that body had adopted salary schedules comparable to those of the designated cities, paying both men and woman instructors more.[136]

Also in 1864, for the first time, female teachers in the district schools protested the huge disparity in male and female salaries there. By conducting a largescale survey, these women disproved the trustees' assertion that female teachers had no families to support and therefore deserved less pay. Their survey disclosed that three-fourths of the women supported aged parents, mothers, sisters, or younger brothers, or supplemented lackluster family incomes.[137] In the face of such evidence, a sympathetic Gazette editor attacked the sexism inherent in the argument that "women have no families to support or should have none," as follows:[138]

> Let the male teachers be chosen from those who have no families to support, and their wages cut down accordingly. Or if they will marry, let them suffer the consequences. The business of the public school system is to educate not to propagate. If the rule will not work with both sexes, it is unsound. A woman who performs the same

> duty for the public as a man, has the same claim to a provision for the support of a family. But the state should pay a fair price for the service rendered, without going behind that to inquire into the size of the family. We do not allow the claim of a teacher or any other man, to extra pay on account of a wife or other responsibilities.

In 1864 nothing was really resolved, either on a district or high school level. Teacher dissatisfaction continued to center around the male-female salary disparity for a decade and a half after. Slowly but surely, the women began to have an effect on the members of the Salary Committee. Two years after the first protest, that Committee, in a dramatic about-face, theoretically agreed with the teachers and the Gazette:[139]

> With the same education as the male, the same ability, and the same work, the female teacher receives less than half the pay. She is employed the same number of hours, teaches the same branches to the same grade of scholars, and teaches equally well, and yet we dole out to her a pittance that would be largely increased, if, instead of attempting to teach our children, she spent her time in ironing our shirts and stockings....Upon the ground of fair compensation for services rendered, the present low rate of teachers' salaries and the inequality between the pay of males and females can never be successfully defended.

But the pragmatic Committee did not visualize salary equity as realistically conceivable when so many females were "knocking at the doors of our school houses and asking for places at salaries much less than we are compelled to pay to a sex which has before it a thousand avenues of employment."[140]

In 1868 another request by the female teachers for salary equalization received, for the first time, the unqualified approval of the Committee on Salaries. That Committee effectively destroyed the argument of financial necessity, a reason long used by the School Board to keep female salaries low, by proving that the trustees could save money if they

increased all female salaries by 40% and dropped all male salaries to the female level. The trustees summarily dismissed that recommendation.[141] The next year Matilda Baker, a teacher of long experience, revived the issue of equal pay when she accepted a position previously occupied by a man, then asked for the same wages he had drawn. Again the School Board refused.[142]

In January 1870 the Salary Committee, thinking the trustees might reconsider their action in light of nationwide financial distress, went even further. That Committee called for the removal of all males from teaching positions and the increase of all female salaries by $300--in the process describing the male principals as "worse than useless appendages." Although the School Board dismissed that solution, in the fall of 1871 the trustees initiated a series of meetings to inquire into possible ways of achieving "greater economy in the management" of the schools, "without detriment thereto."[143]

The principals who testified before a specially-appointed investigating committee felt pressed to justify the importance of male principalship. Most asserted that they taught little, instead spending long hours filling out clerical reports and resolving as many as twenty or thirty discipline calls per day. They uniformly stated that female teachers could not effectively handle "stubborn and malicious boys," threatening or "thick-headed" mothers, or disobedient youngsters in the lowest grades. Some added resentfully that the "stupidity of the [ female ] subordinate instructors" required "constant explanation of the (printed) course of study. " Even one principal who did not believe that a lady's lack of physical strength prevented her from adequately handling a principal's

job did feel the man had "a personal presence" which facilitated "the matter of governing." Soon-to-be Superintendent of Schools J. B. Peaslee addressed himself more precisely to the same notion; female teachers, he believed, would not work "with unanimity and harmony under one of their own sex" and just could not "command the respect of the pupils."[144]

Another principal had earlier protested in the Commercial that his "overworked andunderpaid" fellow administrators had given up "chances of that wealth, honor, and ease which certainly await the same degree of toil in other parts of life." Arguing against cutting back male pay to the female level, he charged that six hours of "severe brain labor" was "far more exhausting than fifteen hours of bodily labor." This man did not bother to point out that the salaries of male teachers ranked among the highest in the city, nor did he explain why women's labor in the schools did not entail hours of "severe brain labor." He simply declared that "the low rate of wages the female teachers worked for is a pretty good sign how much they are worth."[145] Thus with good cause did one teacher characterize such a man as having "eyes...blinded by self-interest."[146]

The women called to testify before the investigating committee felt that the male principals had exaggerated their own importance. These schoolmistresses explained that they handled their own discipline problems, one asserting that she had taught nearly every grade in the Seventh District School without ever being "obliged to call in the Principal." Upon direct questioning, the ladies responded that male principals were necessary, although an Elizabeth Patterson admitted she "did not feel entirely at liberty to state her views on the subject of

Principals for every school-house was a little monarchy in itself, and a teacher differed with the Principal at the peril of losing her position." Nevertheless, she ventured the opinion that the "services of the Principal as now rendered in the schools" were "not indispensable." Patterson affirmed that "A lady might occupy the position of Principal of a District School almost, if not entirely, as well as a man," while Laura Winter explained that female teachers could "probably" stop fights between boys, "although it would be an unpleasant duty."[147]

Protests for equal pay continued throughout the 1870s. The female teachers' desire for mutual solidarity and support in their quest for more equitable wages received an important boost in 1873 when they formed a Lady Teachers Association. Besides inspiring self-confidence in confrontation situations with the School Board, that group contributed to the development of a professional identity by sponsoring cultural activities, social get-togethers, and teacher-improvement demonstrations.[148] The founding of such an association clearly indicated that women now considered teaching as a bonafide career, not merely as a preliminary to marriage or another job.

Even though female teachers met with short shrift from the School Board, they and their supporters subjected the entire advancement procedure to careful scrutiny. They rejected the inequitable time limits placed on their ability to achieve the maximum salary, as based on "the false imputation that females do not improve in the art of teaching as fast as males."[149] They objected when in 1871 the trustees specifically prevented women with three year teaching certificates from drawing the female salary maximum, even after ten years of service—especially since

eligibility for the high-paying five year certificates often depended more upon having "some good friend in the School Board" than upon examination performance.[150] Although the specific rule theoretically applied also to males, in 1873 Superintendent John Hancock ordered all principals to send in their certificates so that he could automatically mark them up to five year certificates, without benefit of examination at all. In this criticism, the women managed to enlist the private support of some trustees, but as an A. E. wrote in the Commercial, "we have yet to see the one that is brave enough to say so before the School Board, or utter one word toward having it [ the rule ] repealed."[151] Female teachers further protested against the requirement of a normal school training for women, but not men, before receiving "preferred" consideration. Nor did women like the favoritism practiced by the School Board in its appointments.[152]

The examination procedure which purportedly determined eligibility for five year certificates came under particular fire. One Commercial correspondent claimed she had personal evidence that the Board of Examiners gave one man a higher score than he deserved and kept females at a lower salary level by giving them inaccurate low scores on their examinations.[153] Other parties attacked the technocratic emphasis of examiners who counted knowledge in irrelevant subjects higher than actual experience in and success at teaching. In order to pass such exams, the teachers maintained they must "cram themselves with subjects they are never under any circumstances required to teach." One letter-writer, in discussing an "excellent" teacher's inability to pass her examination, stated the matter even more succinctly: "Why did she fail in the re-examination? Ah! she attended faithfully to her school and had no

time for study."[154] An H. L. W. recommended a solution: "Repeal the law which requires a member of the Board of Examiners to be an elector, thus enabling females to become members of this Board."[155]

In her search for a five-year certificate or a shorter reappointment the female teacher often faced the twin evils of secrecy and corruption. If a woman thought she had received an unfair preliminary evaluation from her principal, she could usually not have access to her principal's report. When a woman desired a reconsideration of that report, the Superintendent merely "answered that the Principals sent them sealed, requesting him not to show them, and that he could not."[156] Male teachers would presumably have been subject to the same difficulty, but many of them were principals, and the majority of trustees considered even male non-principals more indispensable than females as disciplinarians and educational theorists. Furthermore, some trustees had little aversion to taking bribes for appointing teachers, a practice which gave the advantage to the higher paid males.[157]

Despite many calls for reform, School Board members remained resolute in their defense of the status quo. Although they employed ever increasing numbers of female teachers--the number jumped upward from 314 in 1866-7 to 480 in 1880-1 and stabilized at 85% of the district school teachers--the trustees continued to pay the average schoolmistress less than 46% of the average male salary. They made no effort to end the discrimination practiced by the Board of Examiners. They defended the current examination procedure as necessary to "secure the most efficient school force for the children."[158] Reform measures were minimal--a reduction of the time served before a female teacher could draw the maximum salary, from ten to

six years, and the appointment of a committee to inquire into corruption in the educational system.[159]

School Board inflexibility only added to the amount of frustration female teachers experienced. Realizing that the trustees would not respond to an argument based purely on principle, some teachers considered endorsing the suffrage movement as their only realistic source of power. One such teacher unfolded her feelings to readers of the Commercial:

> This injustice is enough to make female suffragists of us all, for while our domestic relations are such that we deprecate the idea of interfering with what we believe rather to be the legitimate business of men, the pressure of which is brought to bear upon us in our business relations is such that I am sure we have the will, and wish we had the power, to elect those who would deal with us impartially.

Another teacher urged all her female readers to work for women's suffrage as the only way female teachers would ever be able to influence decisions in their favor.[160]

Between 1864 and 1800 a degree of feminist unrest had indeed entered Cincinnati's public school system. Denying the deference implied by the cult of true womanhood, female teachers actively spoke out, favoring the radical notion of equal pay for equal work. The examples of two women, Margaret Kelley and Sophia Euphrat, particularly demonstrated how strong-minded a schoolmistress could be in the 1870s. Kelley, a penmanship teacher at the Ninth District school, had an argument with principal George Woollard over the issue of supplying penmanship paper for her class. She closed the argument by threatening to carry the matter over Woollard's head to the Superintendent of Schools. When the principal ordered her not to leave the building, she refused. She left, he followed, and she objected to walking on the same side of the street "with a

man ordering me back like a policeman." Woollard, suitably miffed, reentered the school. Kelley soon returned, accompanied by a trustee, and after some discussion agreed to "proceed pleasantly with her duties." Subsequently, however, Woollard entered her class and directed her to go into another room. She told him that she "was not yet ready, and then in the presence of the scholars, he said she must quit, and took the materials which she had been using out of her hands." But Margaret Kelley simply would not kowtow before the authority of one "little monarch." In the next year the School Board shifted Woollard to the Thirteenth District to relieve the tension.[161]

Sophia Euphrat had even more pluck. When she complained to the trustees that Twelfth District principal John Akels had attempted several times to kiss her over her objections and had put his hands under her clothing, trustee Francis Ferry reportedly "told her that she shouldn't be offish to Mr. Akels; that there was a chance for her to be the first [ and best paid female ] teacher in the school." Akels accused her of insubordination, and the School Board, wishing to hush up the case, transferred her to another school. She carried away with her a program of exercises she had constructed, as well as the keys to her Twelfth District room, causing Akels to call her a thief before her new pupils. Euphrat refused to be embarrassed and sued Akels for slander. The trustees then attempted to convince her to drop the charges, for fear her course of action would "injure" the public schools. The Commercial reported the following conversation between her and Superintendent Peaslee, a conversation which revealed that even the highest school official could not intimidate her:

> "You will make us out to be liars and slanderers and depraved," said the Superintendent.
> "If there are depraved persons in the schools they ought to be exposed," said she.
> "Whom do you mean?" said Mr. Peaslee.
> "I mean it in a general way," she replied.
> "But it will hurt the schools for these things to come out," he urged.
> "I have suffered enough," she answered. "I can not be made the victim of the schools."

But in practical terms all her courage was for nought. The School Board terminated her employment prior to the next school term.[162]

Ms. Euphrat's case dramatically illustrated that school officials had become more preoccupied with image than with moral principle. Throughout the 1870s the trustees and principals continued to adopt a rhetoric of the school as moral reformer, but their behavior sometimes indicated that the corruption they so commonly attributed to the poor in the 1840s and 1850s was now in their very midst. The same "get-what-you-can-while-you-can-any-way-you-can" spirit instilled in Americans by industrial capitalists had appeared in the public schools as well. In the seventies, that decade when a good deal of national attention focused on unethical practices in business and government, Cincinnati administrators faced accusations centering around a variety of moral indiscretions--bribe-taking, disorderly behavior, kissing young girls, drinking, and selling books to students at a personal profit.[163]

The image consciousness of school administrators after the Civil War years had a social, as well as personal, reference point. An aroused public could create disastrous consequences when trustees came up for re-election. And the female teachers had stung their male privilege, their assumed right to express dominion over women. Earlier, school administrators could respond to increased women's activity for educational

benefits because they believed that "true women" would thereby be created. Women had pressed for change in school and society, but without really threatening male control over either. Then, as women took the practical steps necessary for a greater degree of control over their own destinies--through divorce, the choice not to marry, abortion, contraception, a willingness to directly confront men, and especially equal pay--males sometimes felt their identity as the stronger, dominating sex under assault. At a time when money was becoming the measure of the man, men could not afford to give female teachers equal pay for equal. Work psychologically, that would, in effect, have knocked them down to the level of those they considered their subordinates.

Anxious about their waning influence over their female "subordinates" and concerned lest their societal importance decline still further, the trustees defensively assumed a hard-nosed demeanor. The Cincinnati Bible War of 1869-70 increased the prevailing level of their anxiety and thereby indirectly affected the way the trustees would react to the equal pay agitation. After two-thirds of the Board had voted a prohibition on school Bible readings in an effort to facilitate a proposed fusion of Catholic with public education, that body came under severe fire from many Cincinnatians. (The prohibition came about as a result of friction over which Bible--Catholic or Protestant--to use in classes.) Numerous mass meetings denounced the trustees' action as an "assault upon the inspired source of all religion and morality;" pro Bible petitions flooded into the Board office; thirty-seven taxpayers brought a successful suit against the Board in Superior Court; and five anti-Bible trustees lost their seats in a close election.[164]

Faced with insecurities about the loss of their influence and authority, the trustees could hardly tolerate insubordination from female teachers. They in fact fortified themselves by revitalizing the once-popular belief in the differing abilities of the two sexes. Joseph Thornton, for one, in 1857 a spokesman for intellectual equality between the sexes, changed his mind after the 1864 protests. Thornton asserted he now believed "The Creator placed the two sexes of the human family in the world to fill entirely different positions in society, and, it is reasonable to suppose, has endowed them with [ different ] mental constitutions....The minds of young ladies do not, as a general rule, seize upon and master the more difficult and abstruse parts of mathematics and natural science with the same ease as the opposite sex... [ their ] minds receive absolute injury from attempting to perform impossibilities." One prominent Cincinnati physician agreed with Thornton and warned, "The course of study in the public schools of this city was so severe and exacting, that...the girls especially were sent out from our schools with their blood so impoverished, and general system so weakened, that they were entirely unfitted for the duties and care of maternity."[165] Although Woodward High School Principal George W. Harper supplied evidence refuting the frequent claim that education physiologically impaired the female, the School Board nevertheless seriously discussed converting the two coeducational high schools into a male and a female high school with different curriculums.[166] The revival of interest in the doctrine of female intellectual inferiority obviously had opportune relevance to the issue of wage disparity. As one male assistant teacher phrased it, "Women are not entitled to the same amount

of salary that men are, because they have not the same quantity of brain!"[167] Nor could the "frail" ladies supplement their income by working in both the day and night schools. The trustees prohibited that procedure in 1877, but allowed the reputedly stronger males to teach in both schools.[168]

Actively threatened by strong-minded women, the trustees stripped females of what little administrative power they did exercise. Although women principals had supervised the separate female schools existing during the 1830s and the girls' section of the district schools in the 1840s, the School Board concluded, as had the outraged male principals, that women were "generally incapable of governing a school of any size" by the late 1860s. The trustees then replaced each female principal with "a dignified, moral man that the children may be awed."[169] In 1874 a near-majority of the Board attempted to oust the only woman then possessing any administrative authority, Delia Lathrop, the head of the Normal School. Charges which were quite conceivably trumped up could not be proven against her, and she was reappointed in a close victory over her opponent George Woollard, that same principal whom, a few years earlier, Margaret Kelley had frustrated by her "insubordination."[170] Lathrop, herself the only female teacher drawing a "male" salary ($2,000), may have angered many of the trustees by her instrumental role in founding the Ladies Teachers Association and her endorsement of equal pay for women.[171] One other woman, Janet Knox, served as acting principal over an eight-month period (1878-79) after Fourth District Principal Jessie DeBeck received a suspension for his immoral conduct with young girl students. The trustees allowed Knox an extra $200, increasing her salary to $1,000, but DeBeck had been appointed at a salary almost twice that

amount. Despite uniform testimony to Knox's effectiveness as acting principal, the Board would not consider appointing her to the position permanently.[172]

In their efforts to assert male hegemony in the public school system, the trustees received the support of the Gazette (after 1868) and of the German-language Volksblatt. Whereas in the 1850s some men made fun of the feminists[173] without offering really strong opposition to woman's rights,[174] the disruption of the Civil War and its aftermath created in many males an exaggerated need for stability, union, and old values. The extremely active post-war campaign by women for dress reform, high status employment, suffrage, and general equality fed into conservative fears. Editorials criticized "the Revolting Females," some ministers inveighed against female preachers, and the Workingmen's Party excluded female workers from membership.[175] Still other males hid behind name-calling, snobbery, and snide comments to preserve their own sense of importance. The strong opposition to and ultimate defeat of the woman's rights issue in the public schools thus paralleled the post Civil War reluctance by many men to concede women any concrete cultural gains. Such conservative opposition curbed the extent of feminist achievement in other realms, particularly education, and undercut what progress had been made in the 1850s.

In the turbulent post-war world some men adamantly opposed any concession to feminists, but others supported woman's rights and the female teachers. Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians--the same congregations which opposed the trustees on the Bible-reading issue--circulated petitions calling for "equal pay with men for equal work."[176]

An A. J. B., in a letter to the Gazette, sharply criticized the male instructors for their greedy cry of "Give, give," pointed out that a drop in pay would not injure male principals because they had outside business interests, and emphatically concluded, "Where there are hundreds of occupations given exclusively to men, it looks like a poor spirit to object to one occupation being given exclusively to women."[177]

The Commercial, in particular, argued for women's rights. The editors of that newspaper undoubtedly fed into the trustees' anxiety-level by specifying how the School Board failed to practice thrift and how it was contributing to the backwardness of Cincinnati. In the first respect, these editors pointed out that keeping gas burners on until midnight was a waste of money and suggested the trustees hire an economist "to figure out the money required for one year for house-rent, gas, coal, water-rent and incidentals," then return the savings to the female teachers in the form of increased pay. Arguing that women were legitimate professionals in the school system, the Commercial blamed the School Board for preventing schoolmistresses from "saving scarcely anything towards that support in old age which every honest worker is entitled to," because it wished to "punish" the teachers simply "for being women." One editorial affirmed, "The idea that a male teacher is more valuable than a female, other things being equal, simply on account of the difference of sex, is a relic of the old notion that the woman is, in all respects, inferior to the man, and can not by any possibility rise to his level; but this idea is gradually losing ground in the popular mind, because women all over the land are practically demonstrating the opposite."[178]

The Commercial accused the Board of Education of holding back

Cincinnati progress, since by 1872 the many female principals in Cleveland, Chicago, and St. Louis had proven "a woman can not only superintend one large school, but she can superintend more than one, and this without having a single male teacher about." Furthermore, the Commercial pointed out, the cities of Boston, New York, Brooklyn, San Francisco, St. Louis, and Chicago in 1875-76 paid their teachers more than the Queen City. Cincinnati salaries ranked a full 25% below the level in Chicago.[179] Although the editors did not compare male and female salaries across the United States, such a study would have revealed a similar low rating for Cincinnati. In 1875-76 female teachers in the Queen City earned 47.88% of what males did, whereas an average figure computed for twenty-three states stood at 67.36%. While the nation's schoolmistresses made a relative gain of 30% between 1839-40 and 1875-6, in Cincinnati their progress was nil.[180] Such a finding indicates that the men who controlled the purse strings in Cincinnati indeed had a higher level of fear, or anxiety, about what concessions to the women would mean both for themselves and society.

In the activist, polarized climate of post-war Cincinnati, the female teachers lost a great deal--their administrative positions, their campaign for salary equalization, and a measure of intellectual respectability. They exposed for public view the manifold ways in which examiners and trustees discriminated against women, but could not elicit enough outrage from concerned citizens to reform such practices. Unable to strike because many teachers could be obtained to fill their places at even lower wages, the female teachers had but limited sources of power. Again and again they could only plead idealistically that unequal wages

constituted "an infraction of true principles and wise policy."[181] But if the women teachers failed as a pressure group, they had in the process gained something as well—a belief in their own abilities, in the rightness of being assertive, in the integrity of their professional interest. They had learned to speak, self-reliantly, in opposition to their social superiors, even when those superiors possessed the power to terminate employment. The teachers became conscious of the emotional importance of a professional identity and group solidarity. Increasingly, they considered teaching not as a stop-gap measure until a husband could be found but rather as a career alternative to traditional marriage and motherhood. As one observer wrote in 1881, "there are signs that the advanced women [ i.e., educated ] will revolt against the office of maternity, as imposing on them a disability which is incompatible with equal civil and political rights."[182] That year 96% of all female teachers were unmarried, a figure up from the 83% of forty years before.[183]

Although it is a subject too often ignored, educational change in the 1830 to 1880 time span was closely tied to the perceived needs, dislocations, and transformations occurring in America, especially urban America. Such change reflected and affected social and economic conditions in society. In Cincinnati, as in other locales, feminist thought helped to produce that change. The image of Woman as Redeemer in the corrupt city—that image which played so important a role in originally opening the district schools to female students and female teachers—did not substantially change sex role expectations. Only when feminists pressed for a more equal education as a necessary part of less stereotyped society did the schools began to uniformly accept the notion that girls were potentially as intelligent as boys, ought to be admitted into the

same classes, and have access to a higher education. Educated women proved they could handle jobs traditionally reserved to men and thereby helped open up opportunities in the economic world. The sometime contention that "the causes for the drive towards independent careers for women" in post-Civil War America "was not the product of serious discussion of male and female intellectual equality in coeducational institutions" is, in part, incorrect.[183] Feminists had a crucial role in creating the popular mood which temporarily resolved that issue. In the polarized climate of post war days woman's rights was a hotly debated matter. Some retrenchment occurred, especially when female teachers began demanding equitable treatment, but at the same time the educational offerings for women broadened. The development of educational opportunities for women is <u>not</u>, as some have assumed, the story of steady, uniform progress. Nor, in Cincinnati at least, was it tied closely to the women's liberal arts colleges. In fact, many of the "rebel" teachers in the 1864 to 1880 period were graduates of conservative colleges which accentuated "true womanhood." Most of these teachers had only a high or normal school education. Cincinnati may present a rather unique link between feminism and educational change, but only a series of thoroughgoing studies on education in varying locales will tell us for sure. Much work remains to be done, but whatever area is placed under scrutiny a wide variety of factors ought to be taken into consideration. Abolitionist sentiment, fear of immigrants, industrialization, war-time needs, the extent to which females entered the various branches of education, their achievement there, separate coeducational facilities, the anxieties of School Board members, the number of women who worked at some occupation

other than housewife, and the currency of feminist agitation are all important factors needing analysis and integration. With such information, we, at long last, will be able to determine just how the schools affected and were affected by the woman's movement and other dimensions of social life in the mid-nineteenth century.

FOOTNOTES

[1] In this respect, the inexhaustible researcher Thomas Woody has come closest, explaining, "Education opened the way for, promoted and supported suffrage; in turn that movement has increased the opportunities and made undeniable the demand for equality of education." See Woody, A History of Women's Education in the United States (New York and Lancaster, Pa., 1929), II, 440.

[2] John R. Commons, "American Shoemakers, 1648-1895," Quarterly Journal of Economics, XXIV (1909), 39-84; David Montgomery, "The Working Classes of the Pre-Industrial American City," Labor History, IX (1968), 3-22; Stuart Bruchey, The Roots of American Economic Growth 1607-1861: An Essay in Social Causation (N.Y., 1968), 193-207; Richard C. Wade, "Urban Life in Western America, 1790-1830," in The American City: Historical Studies, ed. by James F. Richardson (Waltham, Mass., 1972), 91-107.

[3] Nancy F. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood: 'Woman's Sphere' in New England, 1780-1835 (New Haven, 1977); Phillida Bunkle, "Sentimental Womanhood and Domestic Education, 1830-1870," History of Education Quarterly, XIV (1974), 13-30; Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860," American Quarterly, XVIII (1966), 151-74.

[4] P. Buckle, ibid., 12; Robert H. Bremner, John Barnard, Tamara K. Hareven, and Robert M. Mennel, eds., Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History (Cambridge, Mass., 1970), 343-62; Transactions of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Western Literary Institute, and College of Professional Teachers (Cincinnati, Ohio, 1838), 187-9.

[5] Richard C. Wade, The Urban Frontier: Pioneer Life in Early Pittsburgh, Cincinnati, Lexington, Louisville, and St. Louis (Chicago, Ill., 1968), 243-51.

[6] Ibid., 244; Joan N. Burstyn, "Catharine Beecher and the Education of American Women," New England Quarterly, XLVII (1974), 386-403.

[7] The Cincinnati Directory Advertiser (Cincinnati, 1831), 195; (1836), 230-1; T. Woody, Hist. of Women's Educ., I, 368-9. For curricula of women's academies and seminaries, see ibid., I, 397-441.

[8] "Minutes of the Trustees and Visitors of the Common Schools of Cincinnati," I, II, VI, np (mspt. vols. at Cincinnati Board of Education, Clerk's Office); John B. Shotwell, A History of the Schools of Cincinnati (Cincinnati, 1902), 317.

[9] Almira H. Lincoln Phelps, "Essay on Female Education," Transactions of the Eighth Annual Meeting of the Western Literary Institute, and College of Professional Teachers (Cincinnati, 1839), 174.

[10] Caleb Atwater, "Female Education," Ladies Repository, I (1841), 10-3; Charles Elliott, "Arguing with Females," ibid., I, 25-6; Rev. J. Adams, "Woman," ibid., I, 121; Tacita, "Defection Education," ibid., I, 258; Caroline M. Burrough, "Girls and Their Training," ibid., I, 372-5; Joseph McD. Matthews, "Substance of a report on 'Female Education' presented to the 'College of Teachers,' in Cincinnati, Oct., 1840," ibid., I, 50-3.

[11] Matthews, ibid., 50-3; A. Phelps, "Essay on Female Educ.," Trans. of 8th Annual Meeting of West. Lit. Institute, 174-9.

[12] Ms. McCabe, "Woman and the Bible," The Ladies Repository, II (1842), 205. For elaborations on this theme, see Anne L. Kuhn, The Mother's Role in Childhood Education: New England Concepts, 1830-1860 (New Haven, 1947) and Glenda Riley, "Origins of the Argument for Improved Female Education," Hist. of Educ. Quart., IX (1969), 453-70.

[13] Twelfth Annual Report of the Trustees and Visitors of the Common Schools of Cincinnati (Cincinnati, 1841), 5-6. See also Lydia H. Sigourney, "Female Patriotism: An Essay on Female Patriotism, Read Before the College of Teachers, and Written for the Occasion," Trans. of 6th Annual Meeting of West. Lit. Institute (1837), 179-84; 22d Annual Report of School Board (1851), 7.

[14] "Minutes of School Board," I, np.

[15] "Committee on Female Education," Trans. of 8th Annual Meeting of West. Lit. Institute, 22.

[16] Trans. of 9th & 10th Annual Meetings of West. Lit. Institute (Cincinnati, 1841), 86-7; L. Sigourney, "Female Patriotism," Trans. of 6th Annual Meeting of West. Lit. Institute, 179-80.

[17] The Cincinnati population increased from 46,381 in 1840 to 115,435 in 1850. City booster Charles Cist reported that businesses produced goods valued at $17,780,033 in 1841 and $54,550,134 in 1851. Check business tables in Cist, Sketches and Statistics of Cincinnati in 1859 (Cincinnati, 1859), 341-4.

[18] Refer, for example, to Cincinnati Daily Gazette, December 10, 1850, 2; December 20, 1850, 2; January 21, 1851, 1; November 29, 1851, 2; Anthony Deye, "A New Sense of Law and Order: Cincinnati, 1850-1860," mspt. in possession of this author.

[19] Gazette, Nov. 1, 1851, 2.

[20] Ibid., July 31, 1852, 2; April 28, 1853, 2.

[21] A. Deye, "A New Sense of Law and Order," 6-8.

[22] Gazette, Sept. 8, 1851, 2; Cincinnati Daily Nonpareil, July 7, 1852, 2; October 12, 1852, 2.

[23] Ladies of the Women's Christian Temperance Union, shortly after that group's organization in 1874, tried to convince insurance companies not to insure places selling alcoholic beverages and hired bands to play religious pieces before the downtown bars. These women were hosed with water, doused with suds and beer, rotten egged by hostile crowds, and arrested for disorderly conduct. The Gazette from March 2, 1874, through May 18, 1874, contains almost daily information on the WCTU crusade of that year.

[24] First Annual Report of the Directors of the House of Refuge (Cincinnati, 1851); J. H. Perkins, "Report on the Influence Exerted Upon Our Schools (in Cities Particularly) By Idle Vagrant Boys Found in Their Neighborhood," Trans. of 9th & 10th Annual Meetings of West. Lit. Institute (1841), 265-7; 21st Annual Report of School Board (1850), 11; 22d Annual Report (1854), 9, 35; 33d Annual Report (1862), 57-8; 39th Annual Report (1868), 78-9; 41st Annual Report (1870), 42, 65; 47th Annual Report (1876), 53, 64; [John Hancock,] Outlines of Moral Exercises for Public Schools (Cincinnati, 1871).

For a full exposition on the anxieties of middle-class parents and school officials concerning the growing numbers of poor people and immigrants, see Michael Katz, The Irony of Urban School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts (Cambridge, 1968); Marvin Lazerson, Origins of the Urban School: Public Education in Massachusetts, 1870-1915 (Cambridge, 1971); and Stanley K. Schultz, "Breaking the Chains of Poverty: Public Education in Boston, 1800-1860," in Cities in American History, ed. by S. Schultz and Kenneth T. Jackson (New York, 1972), 306-23. Of course, there were other reasons for the emphasis on universal education in this period, including urban parents' desire to expose their offspring "to the benefits of meeting children from other families, to the prospects for new friendships, to the joys of the playground, to the imaginative possibilities; even to the prospects of finding a suitable marriage partner." And, importantly, parents viewed teachers as convenient baby-sitters. For a development of this theme, refer to Barbara Finkelstein, "In Fear of Childhood: Relationships Between Parents and Teachers in Popular Primary Schools in the Nineteenth Century," History of Childhood Quarterly: The Journal of Psycho-history, III (1976), 321-35.

[25] 27th Annual Report of the School Board (1856), 58.

[26] E. g., Gazette, Nov. 1, 1851, 2.

[27] Report of the Committee on Moral Instruction Before the Cincinnati Principals' Association (Cincinnati, 1873), 2.

28 Amy Louise Reed's "Female Delicacy in the Sixties," Century, LC (1915), 855-64, describes the concern for womanly fragility, passive amiability, shyness, and virtue common during these times. Barbara Welter's "Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," Am. Quart., XVIII, 151-74, gives an even more complete account of the feminine ideal.

29 Nonpareil, Oct. 25, 1852, 1.

30 Third Annual Report of the Children's Home of Cincinnati (Cincinnati, 1868), 5.

31 Gazette, April 26, 1854, 2.

32 Figures and percentages have been compiled from data in Annual Reports of the School Board and "Minutes of the School Board."

33 Margaret Coxe, Claims of the Country on American Females (Columbus, Ohio, 1842), II, 205-6.

34 The 1840 figure has been supplied in part from the list of names in David Henry Shaffer, The Cincinnati, Covington, Newport and Fulton Directory, for 1840 (Cincinnati, 1839). Since servants and domestics are not listed in that directory, I have calculated an estimate of the actual number of such women by establishing the ratio of servants from the 1850 U. S. Census $\frac{\text{N of servants}}{\text{N of women aged 16-59}}$ then setting that ratio equal to $\frac{\text{Unknown N of servants 1840}}{\text{Known N of women aged 16-59.}}$ The 1860 figure is from a hand-count off the 1860 Census microfilm at the Cincinnati Historical Society, as are the 1880 results. The actual statistics are as follows:

| Year | N of Women 16-59 | Working Women | % |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1840 | 16,151 | 1,431 | 8.86 |
| 1860 | 46,046 | 9,693 | 21.05 |
| 1880 | 76,339 | 20,070 | 26.03 |

35 The national percentages, as reported in "Table 1. Participation of Women in American Labor Force, 1800-1870" in Women in the American Economy: A Documentary History, 1675-1929, ed. by W. Elliot and Mary M. Brownlee (New Haven, Conn., 1976), 3, follow:

| Year | Women's Share of Labor Force | Working Women in Female Population |
|---|---|---|
| 1840 | 9.6 | 8.4 |
| 1860 | 10.2 | 9.7 |
| 1880 | 15.2 | 14.7 |

36 Nonpareil, July 23, 1852, 2.

37 Ibid., Nov. 10, 1852, 2.

38 Ibid., July 17, 1852, 2; July 16, 1852, 2.

39 Gazette, Dec. 7, 1849, 2; July 12, 1855, 2; Aug. 15, 1855, 2.

[40] Nonpareil, Nov. 19, 1852, 2.

[41] See Chart # 7, p. 34.

[42] Cincinnati Weekly Herald, January 6, 1847, 2.

[43] Quoted in Anne Fior Scott, The American Woman: Who Was She?(Englewood Cliffs, N. J., 1971), 78.

[44] The Importance of the Ohio Female College and the Reasons and Encouragement of its Public Endowment (College Hill, Ohio, 1850), 17-9.

[45] These and the following statistics, unless otherwise specified, have been compiled from data in the Annual Reports of the School Board.

[46] W. & M. Brownlee, eds., Women in Am. Economy, 19.

[47] This enactment ordered all major cities to provide evening schools for apprentices between November and February of each year and to open schools for German children. (Eleventh Annual Report of the School Board [ 1840 ], 12.)

[48] Ibid.; "Minutes of the School Board," II, np.

[49] "Average salary" can here be construed as mean, median, or modal salary, since there is virtually no difference between those three measures of central tendency.

[50] N. Cott, The Bonds of Womanhood, 78.

[51] Ibid., 6-8, 197-206; Keith Eugene Melder, "The Beginnings of the Women's Rights Movement in the United States, 1800-1840," Ph. D., Yale University, 1964, inc.

[52] Carl Wittke, We Who Built America: The Saga of the Immigrant (Cleveland, 1967), 153-4, 188-9; Marcus Lee Hansen, The Atlantic Migration 1607-1860 (N. Y., 1961), 135, 167-8.

[53] K. Melder, "Beginnings of Women's Rights," 160-2.

[54] Miss Martineau on America, Reviewed ([ Cincinnati, ] ca 1837), 11.

[55] The [ Cincinnati ] Philanthropist, June 12, 1838, 3.

[56] K. Melder, "Beginnings of Women's Rights," 353-4, 389-90; The Rights of Woman, A Notice of Walker on Woman--By a Lady (Cincinnati, 1841).

[57] Nonpareil, Nov. 16, 1852, 2; Elizabeth Cady Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, and Matilda J. Gage, eds., History of Woman Suffrage (Rochester, N.Y., 1881-6), I, 46.

[58] The Genius of Liberty, Feb. 15, 1853, 33, 38.

59 [ M. Farley Emerson, ] Woman in America: Her Character and Position as Indicated by Newspaper Editorials, and Sustained by American Social Life (Cincinnati, 1857), part. 47-8, 145.

60 Nonpareil, Sept. 14, 1852, 2.

61 E. C. Stanton, et al., eds., Hist. of Woman Suffrage, I, 163-7; Gazette, Oct. 18, 1855, 2; Oct. 19, 1855, 2; Cincinnati Daily Enquirer, Oct. 18, 1855, 3; Oct. 19, 1855, 3.

62 Lee Rinsky, "The Cincinnati Suffrage Movement, 1850-1920," M. A., University of Cincinnati, 1967, 14.

63 Gazette, Sept. 12, 1874, 4; Nov. 20, 1878, 4. For instances of Bloomer girls in Cincinnati, see Nonpareil, Sept. 25, 1852, 2; Dec. 9, 1852, 2; Gazette, Nov. 4, 1851, 1.

64 Gazette, Dec. 7, 1858, 2; Dec. 18, 1858, 2; Jan. 12, 1859, 2; Jan 25, 1859, 2; Jan. 26, 1859, 2; Nov. 15, 1865, 3; July 13, 1869, 2; Sept. 18, 1869, 2; Sept. 24, 1869, 2. The woman who wore male attire during the 1850s took no small risk, for she could be fined up to $30 for that offense (Gazette, Aug. 13, 1855, 2). However, it was often a risk worth taking, since a suitably disguised female could draw a man's wages. Many dress reformers argued that women's contemporary clothing styles, with their immobilizing attributes, made equal earning power impossible. See Robert E. Riegels, "Women's Clothes and Women's Rights," Am. Quart., XV (1963), 390-401.

65 Lenderman, Lenderman's Adventures Among the Spiritualists and Free-Lovers (Cincinnati, 1857), 25, 96.

66 Genius of Liberty, Aug. 1853, 86.

67 Ibid., Mar. 15, 1853, 44.

68 Nonpareil, Sept. 28, 1852, 1; Sept. 6, 1852, 1. Fanny Fern, born Sara Payton Willis in 1811, blended feminism, sentimentality, and satire together in her national columns. She urged women, "Write!...to lift yourselves out of the dead-level of your lives." The heroine of her novel Ruth Hall (1854) competes with men and refuses to feel guilty about it. Studies of Fanny Fern include Ann D. Wood, "The 'Scribbling Women' and Fanny Fern: Why Women Wrote," Am. Quart., XXIII (1971), 3-24; Florence Bannard Adams, Fanny Fern: A Pair of Flaming Shoes (W. Trenton, N. J., 1966); James Parton, Fanny Fern: A Memorial Volume (N. Y., 1873); Elizabeth Bancroft Schlesinger, "Fanny Fern: Our Grandmother's Mentor," New York Historical Society Quarterly, XXXVIII (1954), 500-19.

69 Genius of Liberty, March 15, 1853, 44.

70 J. Soule, Science of Reproduction and Reproductive Control...(Cincinnati, cal856).

71 Advertisements for the book appeared frequently in the Cincinnati newspapers.

72 Genius of Liberty, Mar. 15, 1853, 43.

73 Gazette, June 7, 1852, 1.

74 Genius of Liberty, July 18, 1853, 73-4.

75 Ibid., 73.

76 Ibid., Aug. 1853, 87.

77 John P. Foote, The Schools of Cincinnati, and Its Vicinity (Cincinnati, 1855), 129-31.

78 For concrete expressions of this attitude, refer to C. Cist, Sketches and Statistics of Cinti., 179; 30th Annual Report of School Board (1859), 44.

79 The Ladies Christian Annual, I (Cincinnati, 1852), 75. Beecher quoted on p. 17.

80 "Minutes of School Board," I, II, VI, np; John B. Shotwell, A History of the Schools of Cincinnati (Cincinnati, 1902), 317.

81 "Minutes of School Board," VI, np; VII, 227.

82 Between 1848 and 1852 43.8% of the female applicants failed the high school entrance examinations, but only 20.1% of the males did so. In 1853-4, however, a new pattern was established as 16.4% of the female and 17.7% of the male applicants were rejected on the basis of their test results. See Annual Reports of School Board.

83 47th Annual Report of School Board (1876), 58-9.

84 Between 1852 and 1859 women comprised 45.61% of all high school students. Between 1852 and 1876 538 women and 532 men graduated. (Ibid., 120-1, 123.)

85 By 1876 202 of all female graduates were employed, 193 as teachers. Another 136 such women became the wives of usually high-status men; 122 others were unclassified. (Ibid., 122-3.)

86 M. Coxe, for one, in Claims of the Country on Am. Females, II, 144, sharply disapproved of positively reinforcing female accomplishment in the schools. She felt it would destroy girls natural femininity.

87 30th Annual Report of School Board (1859), 36; 35th Annual Report of School Board (1864), 37-8.

88 25th Annual Report of School Board (1854), 34.

89 "Minutes of School Board," I-V, np.

90 22d Annual Report of School Board (1851), 7.

91 J. Foote, Schools of Cincinnati, 129.

92 "Minutes of School Board," V, np.

93 Throughout America, the belief that the subordinate woman could augment male administrative authority had much currency. In 1841 Boston officials approved of female teachers because "they are less intent and scheming for future honors or emoluments [ than men ]. As a class, they never look forward, as young men invariably do, to a period of legal emancipation from parental control...." One Harper's writer reported in 1878 that "female teachers are often preferred by superintendents because they are more willing to comply with established regulations and less likely to ride headstrong hobbies...." If teachers have advice to give their principal, a Denver superintendent asserted, "it is to be given as the good daughter talks with the father....The dictation must come from the other end." See Aaron Gove, "Limitations of the School's Authority and of the Teacher's Independence," NEA Addresses and Proceedings, 43d Annual Meeting, St. Louis, 1904, 154; "The School Mistress," Harper's New Monthly Magazine, LVII (1878), 607-11; Willard S. Elsbree, The American Teacher: Evolution of a Profession in a Democracy (N. Y., 1939), 201, 203.

94 Cincinnati Commercial, Mar. 10, 1873, 8; Dec. 14, 1878, 2.

95 Ibid., Jan. 22, 1879, 4; Gazette, Jan. 24, 1879, 4.

96 Commercial, Jan. 22, 1879, 4.
Graduation from a normal school meant that a teacher started at a considerably higher salary ($150 higher in 1879) than her untrained female contemporaries, since the trustees held a normal school diploma to be equivalent to three years of practical experience. ("Minutes of the School Board," XIV, 189.)

97 Gazette, Jan. 24, 1879, 4.

98 Ibid., April 21, 1864, 2.

99 21st Annual Report of School Board (1850), 62-71.

100 31st Annual Report of School Board (1860), 109-19.

101 Cincinnati Commercial, June 6, 1870, 6.

102 J. Shotwell, Hist. of Schools of Cincinnati, 493-4; Annual Catalogue and Prospectus of the Ohio Female College, 1856-7, 1859-60, 1860-1, 1862-3, and 1865-6 editions; The Importance of the Ohio Female College and the Reasons and Encouragement of its Public Endowment (College Hill, Ohio, 1850), 17-9.

103 This figure has been supplied by comparing the lists of teachers appearing in the Annual Reports of School Board for those years.

104 "Minutes of the School Board," I-V, np.

105 The turnover rate in the 1860s and 1870s was comparable to that of more recent times. In the 1969-70 school term, for example, there was a 6.5% turnover rate for men and 12.07% rate for women.

106 Eleanor Flexner, Century of Struggle: The Woman's Rights Movement in the United States (N. Y., 1972), 142-78; Mary Elizabeth Massey, Bonnet Brigades (N. Y., 1966), 358-9.

107 By 1879 over 1,300 women labored in the various federal departments at the national capital. (Commercial, June 5, 1870, 4; Feb. 2, 1879, 4.)

108 Astronomer Maris Mitchell, discoverer of Mitchell's comet, became the first woman elected to the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, as well as to the Association for the Advancement of Science. Genevieve E. Jones and Eliza J. Schulze of Circleville, Ohio, prepared a highly praised book on Nests and Eggs of the Birds of Ohio. (E. Flexner, Century of Struggle, 114-5; Commercial, Jan. 22, 1879, Suppl.)

109 The Number of patents issued to women increased from fifteen before 1833 to 35 in 1834-59 and 1,503 in the next twenty-five years. Between 1866 and 1885 female patentees increased more than twice as fast as the men. (T. Woody, ed., Hist. of Women's Education, II, 11-2.)

110 Louise Schutz Boas, Woman's Education Begins...(Norton, Mass., 1935), 240-4.

111 L. Rinsky, "The Cinti. Suffrage Movement," 16.

112 Lawyer Jabez Edward Stevenson read a paper entitled Rights and Liabilities of Married Women, under the Laws of Ohio before the Cincinnati Bar Association on March 13, 1877, in which he called "for steady progress in the future toward the goal of their [ i. e., women's ] true legal status, where they will be regarded not as superior, nor indeed, in all respects, as the equals, of their husbands, but at least as reasonable beings, amenable to the laws, and capable of acting for themselves, without the imposition of greater restrictions than their husbands and unmarried sisters labor under, in making contracts and managing their separate estate." (Stevenson, Rights and Liabilities...[ Cincinnati, 1877 ], 31.)

113 Dr. A. Curtis published "A Woman's Rights extra" to his Journal of Education & Physiological & Medical Reform (Cincinnati, cal872). There he endorsed the establishment of a female medical college because he felt woman could "understand much better than any man...the nature of her own maladies." In 1879 the Homeopathic Medical Society of Cincinnati allowed Dr. Ellen M. Kirk of West Seventh Street to read a paper before that body. (Commercial, Jan. 22, 1879, Suppl.)

114 E. Stanton, et al., eds., Hist. of Woman Suffrage, III, 491-2.

115 Gazette, June 10, 1869, Supplement.

116 Ibid., Feb. 10, 1868, 1.

117 Ibid., May 5, 1865, 2.

118 Ibid., June 6, 1870, 5.

119 Rufus King, Superior Court of Cincinnati: Religion and Morality Inseparate from National Education (Cincinnati, 1870), 19.

120 The number of marriage licenses issued in Hamilton County declined from an annual average of 3,183.8 in the five year period following the Civil War to 2,854.4 per year in 1870-74 and 2,690.2 in 1875-79. Statistics compiled from tables appearing in the Annual Reports of the Commissioner of Statistics, to the General Assembly of Ohio (Columbus, 1858-68), I-XI, and Annual Reports of the Secretary of State, to the Governor of the State of Ohio (Columbus, 1869-80). Single women aged sixteen to thirty increased from 19,834 in 1865 to 26,506 in 1880. (The former figure is the mean of the number of such women on the 1860 and 1870 Censuses; the 1880 total is from a hand-count of the 1880 Census.)

121 Commercial, June 23, 1879, 8.

122 The number of births decreased gradually from 6,263 in 1869 to 4,344 in 1872. See Annual Reports of Ohio Secretary of State for those years.

123 Norman E. Himes, Medical History of Contraception (N. Y., 1970 [ 1936 ]), 201, 224-30, 262-85.

124 In 1877 one maiden's death caused abortionist Minnie Mehl to be brought before the Cincinnati authorities. Four years earlier Madame Frasier billed herself as a "Clairvoyant and Astrologist" to cover an illegal abortion establishment in which she charged women on a sliding scale according to ability to pay. (Commercial, June 20, 1870, 8; Oct. 1, 1877, 8; Gazette, May 21, 1873, 8; May 22, 1873, 8.)

125 Gazette, June 15, 1874, 8.

126 Divorce figures from Annual Reports of Commissioner of Statistics and Secretary of State. Although it does not mention divorce statistics, Daniel Scott Smith's provocative article on "Family Limitation, Sexual Control, and Domestic Feminism in Victorian America" speculates that a decreasing fertility rate for white women in the nineteenth century (from 7.04 children per woman in 1800 to 5.42 in 1850 and 3.56 in 1900) indicates the expanding development of "domestic feminism"--i.e., of a search for personal autonomy inside the nuclear family unit. Smith's essay appears in Mary Hartman and Lois W. Banner, ed., Clio's Consciousness Raised: New Perspectives on the History of Women (N. Y., 1974), 119-36.

127 Clara Chipman Newton to Florence Murdock, June 8, 1867, mspt. at Cinti. Hist. Soc.

128 47th Annual Report of School Board (1876), 120-1.

129 31st Annual Report of School Board (1860), 7, 27; 42d Annual Report (1871), 36.

130 T. Woody, Hist. of Women's Educ., II, 67.

131 J. Shotwell, Hist. of Schools of Cinti., 187.

132 Enquirer, Nov. 21, 1887, 9.

133 A list of employed women by occupation in Cincinnati (1880) appears in Statistics of the Population of the United States at the Tenth Census... (Washington, 1883), 871.

134 Gazette, Nov. 13, 1867, 2; Nov. 14, 1867, 2.

135 Tables of earnings appear in ibid., April 19, 1866, 1, and Jan. 3, 1870, 1. Bookkeepers' and clerks' wages are from ibid., Mar. 19, 1869, 1, and the janitors' wages from "Minutes of School Board," XII, 65. Teachers' salaries are drawn from Annual Reports of School Board. The decline in most wages between 1866 and 1870 must be viewed in terms of post-war inflation and the depressed conditions of 1870. Ten dollars per month, the average cost of a room in Cincinnati, has been added to the income of servants and ostlers who boarded with their employers.

136 "Minutes of the School Board," XI, 189, 213, 328, 343, 556-7; XII, 58, 62.

137 Gazette, April 21, 1864, 2.

138 Ibid., April 20, 1864, 2.

139 37th Annual Report of the School board (1866), 6.

140 "Minutes of the School Board," XI, 556-7.

141 Ibid., XII, 100, 110.

142 Gazette, Mar. 13, 1869, 1. Baker had taught at the Fifth District School since the 1856-57 school year.

143 "Minutes of the School Board," XIII, 393, 411; XIV, 280.

144 Commercial, Nov. 18, 1871, 4; Nov. 25, 1871, 2; Gazette, June 17, 1872, 2.

145 Commercial, Feb. 1, 1870, 3.

146 Ibid., June 5, 1870, 1.

147 Ibid., Dec. 2, 1871, 2.

148 Gazette, Sept. 12, 1873, 8; 45th Annual Report of the School Board (1874), 64.

149 Gazette, April 21, 1864, 2.

150 Commercial, Mar. 10, 1873, 8.
In June 1671 the Board of Education stipulated that any male principal holding less than a five years certificate could earn up to $100 per year less than the salary maximum for that class. First male assistants with one or three year certificates could earn within $50 and female teachers within $25 of their respective maximums. ("Minutes of the School Board," XIV, 193.)

151 Commercial, ibid.

152 Ibid., Mar. 10, 1873, 8; Dec. 14, 1878, 2.

153 Ibid., Sept. 11, 1870, 2.

154 Ibid., Mar. 10, 1873, 8; Oct. 31, 1875, 4; Nov. 4, 1875, 5; Nov. 8, 1875, 2; Nov. 15, 1875, 5; Gazette, Nov. 5, 1875, 4.

155 Commercial, Nov. 5, 1875, 5.

156 Ibid., Mar. 10, 1873, 8.

157 Sophia Euphrat's case is illustrative. Hearing that "it was a not altogether unknown thing" to offer trustees such considerations, she approached John Fischer of the Twenty-first District and agreed to give him a month's wages in return for a reappointment. A bit later, she wrote him a check for $25 and gave another $25 check to trustee Frank Macke. Euphrat failed to receive a reappointment, however, since she would not drop a slander suit initiated against her ex-principal. When she informed the press of her efforts to "buy" a teaching position, Macke and Fischer denied her story. Fischer explained "that he did not know anything about the twenty-five-dollar check, except that he afterwards found it in his pocket, where Miss Euphrat had stuck it without his being aware of it." The teacher then exclaimed, "I would look nice putting my hands into a gentleman's pocket, wouldn't I!" (Ibid., Dec. 13, 1878, 2; Dec. 14, 1878, 2.) The editorial "Political Disabilities of Women" in Gazette, Jan. 24, 1879, 4, also discusses bribery.

158 Commercial, Nov. 8, 1875, 2.

159 "Minutes of the School Board," XVI, 623-4.

160 Ibid., June 5, 1870, 1; Sept. 25, 1870, 11.

161 Ibid., June 8, 1871, 5; Gazette, June 8, 1871, 4; 42d Annual Report of the School Board (1872), 261-4.

162 Commercial, Dec. 13, 1878, 2; Dec. 14, 1878, 2.

163 Rufus King, Superior Court of Cincinnati: Religion and Morality Inseparate from National Education (Cincinnati, 1870), 34; "Minutes of the School Board," XIV, 15, 34-40; XV, 520; XVI, 50, 488, 498, 507-8, 511-2, 520-2, 623-4; Commercial, Feb. 1, 1879, 10.

164 The Bible controversy is detailed in Harold M. Helfman, "The Cincinnati Bible War, 1869-1870," The Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly, LX (1951), 369-86; Nancy Hamant, "An Historical Perspective on Religious Practices in Selected Ohio City School Districts," Univ. of Cinti. Ph.D. Thesis, 1967, 36-47; Janet A. Miller, "Urban Education and the New City: Cincinnati's Elementary Schools, 1870-1914," Univ. of Cinti. Ph. D. Thesis, 1974, 51-69.

165 35th Annual Report of the School Board (1864), 37; 47th Annual Report (1876), 62-3.

166 47th Annual Report, 62-3; "Minutes of the School Board," XIV, 518. According to statistics accumulated by Harper from 88 female graduates of Woodward High School (1854-64), only three women were invalids, but two had died, and 43 of the 45 who married had borne children.

167 Commercial, June 5, 1870, 1.

168 "Minutes of the Board of Education," XVI, 256.

169 Commercial, Feb. 1, 1870, 3.

170 Ibid., July 14, 1874, 3.

171 J. Miller, "Urban Educ. & the New City," 209.

172 Commercial, July 13, 1879, 4; July 16, 1879, 4.

173 A minstrel band mimed strong-minded women at Center Hall and a satirical piece entitled "Woman's Rights, or Pantacoats and Petiloons" created "tremendous excitement among all classes of citizens" in its exhibition at Wood's Museum. When questioned about woman's rights, one businessman asserted "he could but just stand it now; and if his wife got any more rights, he should have to decamp." Such reactions were fairly common. (Gazette, Aug. 5, 1851, 2; June 5, 1851, 2; Genius of Liberty, May 19, 1853, 58.)

174 An attitude of restrained approval seemed more representative--an attitude perhaps best exemplified by one merchant who said he "was as much a 'woman's rights' man as any one; but he did not believe in her voting--they would make the bitterest politicians in the world." In fact, Sarah Ernst related, "We more often hear women object to the discussion of this subject as indecorous, than men." (Genius of Liberty, May 19, 1853, 58; Mar. 15, 1853, 43.)

175 For examples, see Gazette, June 10, 1869, Suppl.; Oct. 8, 1869, 2; Mar. 11, 1873, 4; Commercial, June 28, 1870, 8; Jan. 22, 1879, Suppl.

176 Gazette, Mar. 13, 1869, 1.

177 Ibid., Jan. 17, 1870, 1.

178 Commercial, Jan. 22, 1879, 4; June 5, 1870, 4.

179 Ibid., June 16, 1872, 4; Feb. 1, 1879, 12.

180 Ned H. Dearborn in The Oswego Movement in American Education (N. Y., 1925), 30, gives an average male salary in 1875-6 of $389.88 and a female salary of $262.64. These figures can be compared to isolated statistics reported in T. Woody, Hist. of Women's Educ., I, 491-3, which gives a composite average of ten states in 1840.

181 Commercial, July 8, 1877, 6.

182 Gazette, Oct. 19, 1881, 4.

183 These percentages have been compiled by comparing the lists of teachers in the Annual Reports of School Board for the years 1839-40 and 1880-1 with the names of teachers in the 1840 Directory of Cincinnati and the 1880 U. S. Census tracts.